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THE WORLD

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An exhausted-looking Foreign Minister Shimon Peres consults with OC Planning Branch Maj.-Gen. Uzi Dayan (left) and ministry legal adviser Joel Singer during a break in the Taba negotiations yesterday. (Reuters)

Peres, Arafat in final effort to conclude deal

FOREIGN Minister Shimon Peres and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat and their top aides were expected to continue talks until dawn today, in a last-ditch effort to overcome the final obstacles to reaching an agreement and holding a Thursday signing ceremony at the White House.

With time running out, it remains unclear if the endgame is at hand. Some officials were saying that if the two sides do not resolve the disputes by this morning, a Washington ceremony before the High Holy Days would be impossible.

At about 6 a.m. this morning, Arafat was to leave Taba for a meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama. It remained uncertain last night whether it is possible or necessary for talks to reconvene later today.

There are indications, which have yet to be confirmed, that Israel has agreed to something that roughly resembles a Palestinian parliament.

Palestinian officials said the IDF will have 100 days from the day the agreement is signed to withdraw from the areas agreed upon. There will then be three weeks of campaigning before elections for the Palestinian self-rule council are held. The Palestinians want to hold the elections before Ramadan, which starts at the end of January.

Arafat aide Nabil Abu Rudeineh said that the Palestinians want the IDF to withdraw from Hebron within the next few months. He termed the new Israeli position on Hebron, tabled Saturday night and subsequently modified, to be "totally unacceptable." Palestinian officials

DAVID MAKOVSKY
TABA

said that without a deal on Hebron, there will be no accord. The crux of the matter is that Israel wants the IDF to have freedom of movement throughout the city to protect the estimated 400 settlers living there, while Arafat wants to demonstrate to his own people that he has visibly ended Israeli control over the city.

"There is not a problem of the IDF staying to protect the Jewish area," one source close to the negotiations said. "The problem is the rest of the city. It is important to Arafat that he be seen as controlling Hebron."

This has led some to believe that a solution to Hebron would involve the IDF and the Palestinian Police each having restricted authority and sharing joint patrols, alongside a multinational force reminiscent of the unarmed observers who briefly and unsuccessfully patrolled Hebron after last year's Machpela Cave massacre.

Sources said that Israel is willing to accede to Arafat's wish that the building serving as IDF headquarters in the city be turned over to the Palestinian Authority. It also appears that Israel is ready to have unarmed Palestinians patrol the point where Arabs enter the Machpela Cave.

In a bid to bolster his negotiating position, Arafat invited Hebron Mayor Mustafa Natsheh, along with other leading Hebronites, to the talks, so they could explain the importance of the city to Peres.

"There has to be drama down to the last second, so Arafat can tell his people that he has done everything possible," a source said.

Some of the other issues, however, have apparently been resolved.

Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erakat said it has been agreed that the Palestinian self-rule council will have 82 members. Until recently, Israel had insisted upon 35, saying it did not want a higher number because the council would then resemble a parliament.

Erakat said that Israel did not mind if the body elected a parliamentary-style speaker, while Arafat would be named head of an "executive" panel of "ministers" within the broader body. Israeli officials refused to comment.

At the same time, sources say the Palestinians have acquiesced to a bypass road built from the Jerusalem neighborhood of Gilo to Rachel's Tomb. This road would be used only by Israelis.

At the same time, the IDF and Palestinian policemen would jointly patrol the main part of the Bethlehem road, for those who want to use the regular route to the tomb. A joint patrol will also be established in Nablus, to assure access for those wanting to visit Joseph's Tomb.

Officials also indicated that unspecified compromises have been reached on adding some adjoining areas to the Arab cities from which the IDF is to withdraw. For example, the Palestinians want Al-Bireh to be attached to Ramallah for this purpose.

Abu Rudeineh said that Peres agreed that Israel would release all 28 Palestinian women prisoners it currently holds. He said a promise to release all women prisoners was made a year ago by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, but only partially kept. Israel insists that at least two of the 28 (Continued on Page 12)

Soldier killed in freak flight accident

SGT. Yossi Mizrahi, 21, of Jerusalem was killed yesterday when an air force jet aborted its takeoff. The fighter was about to take off from Hatzorim air force base in the Negev when its hydraulic systems malfunctioned and the pilot carried out emergency procedures. The plane came to a halt after being held back by a steel cable stretched across the runway. After the plane's hook latched onto the cable and came to a halt, one side of it came loose from its

ALON PINKAS

mooring, snapped to the other side of the runway, and hit the soldier in the head as he tried to free the hook from the cable as part of normal procedure.

Mizrahi was a member of the base fire brigade, which was deployed at the edge of the runway. The base commander conducted a preliminary investigation, and concluded that Mizrahi, who was wearing a helmet as required, was

hit by the cable after it had been hooked by the plane.

Mizrahi was evacuated in critical condition to Soroka Hospital in Beersheba, where he later died of his injuries.

OC Air Force Maj.-Gen. Herzl Bodinger established an investigation committee, as did the military police, which is required to do so whenever a fatal accident occurs.

This is the third fatal accident the air force has sustained since July.

Strike expected at B-G Airport today

SEVERE flight disruptions are expected at Ben-Gurion Airport after 5 p.m. today, unless the management of Flight Services, whose workers fuel the aircraft, enters into negotiations with its striking workers.

If talks do not begin by 8 this morning, various sanctions, including a one-hour strike by all airport workers sometime between 5 p.m. and 9 p.m., are planned. The chosen hour will not be announced in advance.

Michal Yudelman
Full story, Page 12

Turn out the lights, Zo Artzenu's illumination display begins tonight

HERB KEINON

ISRAEL Electric Corp. officials are advising people to unplug appliances this evening, when Zo Artzenu supporters are expected to turn their lights on and off at the same time in an anti-government protest.

"Tell the minority government, 'You are returning us to the dark ages,'" reads the Zo Artzenu literature publicizing the action. "Rabin knows how to read the Electric Corp. meters, and it will tell him of the massive opposition to the agreement."

Yehoshua Shani, one of the heads of Zo Artzenu, said the purpose is not to bring down the country's electric grid, but to give people "afraid of being beaten at demonstrations" an opportunity to protest the government's actions from the security of their living rooms.

He said the action will be repeated every week at the same time.

Shani said the Electric Corp. was given ample time to prepare for the event, and to advise its clients what to do.

According to the plan, Zo Artzenu supporters will turn on all the electricity in their homes at 7:20 p.m., and then at 7:30 p.m. turn off the main electrical switch. Ten minutes later they will turn the switch on.

An Electric Corp. spokesman said the action will not bring down the electrical grid, but may cause electrical problems for people in areas where many people take part.

Zo Artzenu has called on people to prepare emergency lighting for 10 minutes after the protest.

NATO, UN grant Serbs further 72-hour reprieve

SARAJEVO (Reuters) - NATO and UN commanders gave Bosnian Serbs another 72 hours respite from air strikes yesterday, saying the Serbs had made an acceptable start on withdrawing heavy weapons from around Sarajevo.

Further north, Bosnian Muslim and Croat forces pressed forward against the reeling Serb rebels whose leader, Radovan Karadzic, acknowledged "heavy losses," including towns and lands in which Serbs had lived for centuries.

Tens of thousands of fleeing civilians blocked roads as the Bosnian Serbs struggled to create a new line to defend their main

city, Banja Luka, from government forces in northern Bosnia. Around Sarajevo, the Serbs faced a deadline at 10 p.m. local time to convince the Western Powers they were in earnest about lifting their siege and moving heavy guns at least 20 km from the Bosnian capital.

Minutes after the deadline, UN commander General Bernard Janvier said in a statement that he and NATO's Admiral Leighton Smith had "judged that the Bosnian Serbs have shown initial compliance."

"Therefore we have agreed that the suspension of airstrikes be extended for an additional 72 hours."

"It is our common judgment that the Bosnian Serbs have shown a substantial start towards withdrawing their heavy weapons beyond the limits of the exclusion zone."

Bosnian Serb army command-

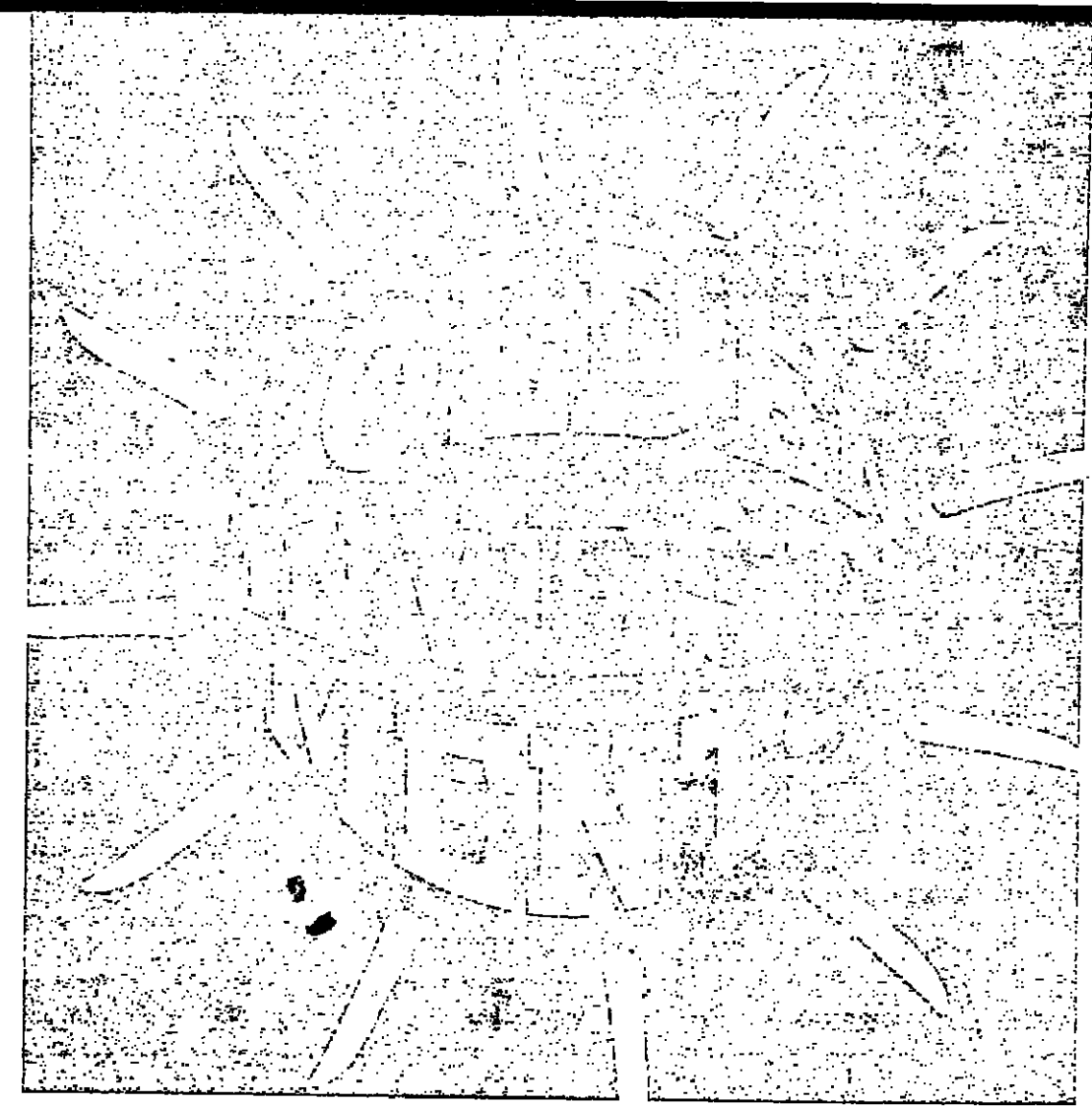
er of forces besieging Sarajevo, Gen. Dragomir Milosevic, said his forces had withdrawn about 50 percent of its artillery and tanks ringing the city.

"When the 144th hour is over everything will be fulfilled and we expect that, in the meantime, that is by the end of the sixth day, a cessation of hostilities agreement will be signed."

Janvier said once the Serbs pulled their weapons from this area the UN will have a chance to try and broker first a local Sarajevo cease-fire and then a country-wide one.

Bosnian government radio quoted a report by the UN commander in Bosnia as saying that the Serbs had withdrawn 150 heavy weapons from the zone around Sarajevo by the afternoon.

UN officials had estimated there were 200 to 329 heavy weapons in the zone.



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Murayama: Assad unhappy with talks

ALON PINKAS

VISITING Japanese Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama told Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin yesterday that Syrian President Hafez Assad is disappointed with the current state of the peace process and believes it is at an impasse resulting from Israel's positions, diplomatic sources said last night.

However, Murayama told Rabin that Assad seems to be intent on continuing the negotiations and is aware of the economic benefits of peace.

Murayama, who arrived from Damascus Saturday night, began a two-day visit in Israel and the Palestinian autonomous area, the first by a Japanese prime minister.

At a state dinner last night, Rabin described the visit as "a new page in the history of relations between the two countries."

"We value your support of the peace process and your willingness to assist those involved in the process could be a very beneficial blessing to the entire Middle East," he said in a ceremonious welcome reception for Murayama.

Japan, which gave \$200 million to the Palestinian Authority over the past two years, recently agreed to provide an additional \$200 million over the next two years.

"We wish to make further contributions to the Middle East peace process... Peace and stability in this region are essential for the prosperity of the entire world," Murayama, who will visit the Gaza Strip today, said.



Japanese Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama and his wife visit Yad Vashem yesterday. Murayama also visited a tree planted in honor of Righteous Gentile Sempo Sugihara, described as "the Japanese Schindler."

Rabin also noted Japan's growing trade with Israel, noting that the two countries exchange commodities worth \$2 billion. Israeli imports total \$963 million (mainly cars) a year and exports to Japan amount to \$982 million. In 1994, Japan replaced Britain as Israel's second largest trade partner after the US.

The official meeting between the two dealt not only with economics, but also with Murayama's trip to Syria. According to a diplomatic source, Murayama did not relay any message from Assad, but conveyed his observations on the peace process.

Murayama told Rabin that he received the impression that Assad is dissatisfied with the current status of the peace process and is disappointed with Israel's positions.

Rabin, the source said, explained in detail Israel's positions vis-a-vis Syria and elaborated on current negotiations with the Palestinians. Murayama confirmed to Rabin that next year Japan will dispatch 77 soldiers to the Golan Heights as part of a UN observer force.

Murayama also asked for and received Israel's support in Japan's efforts to gain a rotating membership on the UN Security Council. Previously, Israel had said that if Japan and Germany

apply for a permanent membership, Israel would view it favorably.

Nevertheless, economic issues dominated the agenda, especially with Japan's announcement it will open a "Export and Trade Organization Office" in 1997 to promote economic ties.

"The greatest significance... is that it signals to the Japanese business community that doing business with Israel is kosher," said Ruth Kahanov, of the Foreign Ministry's Asia Department.

Rabin and Murayama also discussed obstacles blocking the export of Israeli agricultural products to Japan.

Earlier yesterday, Murayama visited Yad Vashem and laid a wreath at the Hall of Remembrance.

"I participate in the sorrow of the families of the victims, and express my hopes that such a thing never again happens in all of humanity," he said.

Murayama also visited a tree planted in honor of Sempo Sugihara, described as "the Japanese Schindler."

Sugihara was a Japanese consul in Lithuania who provided visas to Jewish refugees from eastern Europe. It is estimated he saved between 6,000 and 10,000 lives.

While Murayama refrained from visiting the Golan Heights, Deputy Foreign Minister Shunji Yanai did. He met with Faisal Husseini.

Yanai also denied that Japan intends to sell Syria a nuclear reactor, and said that his country agreed to sell Syria a fully equipped hydro-electric power station.

Ben-Yair: PA trials no substitute for extradition

HERB KEINON

ATTORNEY-General Michael Ben-Yair issued an opinion yesterday stating that the trial in Jericho last week of two men suspected of killing Ohad Bachrach and Ori Shohor in Wadi Kelt in July is not valid, and does not free the Palestinian Authority of its obligation to transfer the suspects to Israel to stand trial.

"The duty of the PA is to extradite the suspects to Israel when the application is submitted to them, and to do so without delay," Ben-Yair wrote.

The opinion was given to Justice Minister David Liba'i and the prime minister's legal adviser. It came on the same day that parents of a number of terror victims, including the parents of Bachrach and Shohor, met with the prime minister to press him to force the Palestinians to extradite the suspected murderers of their sons.

After meeting with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Ariel Bachrach said, "We requested that he

take significant action to extradite the terrorists who killed our sons, and other terrorists the government knows are in Gaza and Jericho. We said that the government can demand the extradition by conditioning the continuation of the agreement on it, or conditioning the freeing of the prisoners on it. We did not receive any promises."

Yehudit Shohor said she was disappointed by the outcome of the meeting. "We are very disappointed," she said. "He did not promise us anything, we came out without anything."

Earlier in the day, the families met with Interior Minister Ehud Barak, and Deputy Foreign Minister Eli Dayan. Dayan called the Jericho trials "absurd," and said Israel must either demand the suspects' extradition, or, barring this, demand complete coordination with the PA before they are brought to trial, including preparing the indictment and determining their sentences.

Man stabbed in Old City

BILL HUTMAN

A JERUSALEM man was stabbed and seriously wounded in the Old City's Moslem Quarter yesterday by two Arabs, but it is not certain it was a random terror attack, police said.

Avraham Yazdi, 40, was stabbed near Damascus Gate. He ran several dozen meters through the Moslem Quarter before obtaining help from a Border Police unit stationed in the area.

Yazdi told police he saw the two Arab youths he believed attacked him as they fled, and gave

investigators their description. Several Arabs were detained.

He was taken to Hadassah University Hospital, Ein Keren, where he was operated on last night. He was reported in satisfactory condition.

Yazdi is known to police for his involvement with criminal elements in eastern Jerusalem, police sources said. Those connections are being probed as a possible motive for the stabbing, though nationalist motives have not been ruled out.

Hunt for Azamareh's killer continues

BILL HUTMAN

SECURITY forces yesterday continued to search for the fourth member of the Palestinian gang suspected of murdering Halhoul resident Salman Azamareh.

The other three members of the gang, who dressed as IDF soldiers and spoke Hebrew to fool people into thinking they were Israelis, were detained Friday night.

Police sources said the identity

of the fourth suspect is known, and he would likely be detained soon. The General Security Service is also involved in the investigation.

Meanwhile, sources close to Police Minister Moshe Shahal denied reports the minister had wrongly attributed the murder to Jewish extremists.

Shahal himself was unavailable for comment.

Japanese divided over Golan unit

THE decision by the Japanese government to send a logistics unit to serve as part of the United Nations' disengagement force on the Golan Heights is problematic for many Japanese, because of the lingering dispute in Japan over the country's military involvements since World War II.

The city of Hiroshima, for example, has been a leading advocate against sending troops anywhere abroad, even as part of a peacekeeping force, for fear the

BACKGROUND

PINHAS INBARI

government will use that as an excuse to rebuild the military.

Many Japanese support this view, and remain adamant that the government not only refrain from any military involvement abroad but also publicly to other countries in Asia for war crimes its soldiers committed there during World War II.

These old wounds were re-

opened last month, during the various ceremonies held to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the end of the war and the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama did not take these opportunities to apologize for Japanese war crimes.

It is expected, therefore, that the decision to send soldiers to the Golan will spark heated debate in Japan, and sharp criticism of the government by the opposition.

Rabbis protest increased violence at Halhoul

HERB KEINON

TWO Kiryat Arba rabbis began a sit-in near an IDF outpost in Halhoul yesterday to protest a dramatic increase in stone-throwing incidents on the road since police and government officials blamed Jews for last week's killing of Salman Azamareh.

A gang of Palestinian criminals, and not Jews, was arrested Friday for the murder.

"As a result of the libel, there has been a huge increase in stone-throwing incidents in the area," said Rabbi Shimon Ben-Zion.

The IDF confirmed last night that there has been an increase in stone throwing since the Halhoul murder. It would not give statistics, but said the increase exists.

Ben-Zion said he felt the need to begin the protest because he was concerned that if the situation continues, blood will be spilled on the road. He was joined in the protest by Rabbi Yitzhak Rodrig.

Kiryat Arba Regional Council head Zvi Katzover said none of the government ministers who either said or inferred that Jews were involved in the murder had called to apologize. "This shows the true face of the left," Katzover said. "They cast aspersions on a complete community, and then do not have the courage to apologize and say they erred."

President Ezer Weizman, on a tour of crossing points to Gaza, said the incident "teaches us that

we have to be very careful about jumping to conclusions," and that it was "unreasonable" to say Jews were responsible. "Whoever thinks he needs to apologize, should apologize," he said.

One person who doesn't think he has anything to apologize for is Environment Minister Yossi Sarid, who said following the murder: "If this is how to fulfill the mitzva of resettling Hebron by Jews, then the mitzva is to uproot them from there."

Sarid told Israel Radio: "I have no emotional or intellectual difficulty in apologizing. But I don't understand what I am being asked to apologize for, and why I am expected to apologize. Jewish organizations, Eyal and the Sword of David, took responsibility, and worse than that, identified with that terrible act."

Helen Kaye adds: Ariel Mayor and MK Ron Nahman (Likud) has demanded an apology from Channel 1 and suspension of those responsible for what it terms incitement against the settlers.

In a letter sent yesterday to IBA head Moti Kirschenbaum, Nahman said that since news of the murder of Azamareh broke, "the managers of Channel 1 have conducted a poisonous campaign of incitement against the settlers... blaming the entire community of Jewish settlers without the slightest hesitation."

Religious parties irked by Shabbat work permits

THE heads of the Knesset's religious parties called yesterday for an emergency meeting with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin to discuss special permits issued to the Public Works Department to work on bypass roads in the territories on Shabbat and the holidays.

Labor and Social Affairs Minister Ora Nami, who issued the permits, said they are necessary in order to "save lives."

"We did not do anything to anger the religious public," she

said in an Israel Radio interview. "But when you are speaking about saving lives, and are speaking about a pure security matter, it is clear that we had to issue the permits."

"The only thing that is left for us is Shabbat," said Agudat Yisrael faction head Avraham Shapira. "It is a miracle that Arafat hasn't asked us for that as well. It is impossible to believe that in order to give up parts of Eretz Yisrael, we will also have to desecrate the Shabbat." Herb Keinon

Two killed in road accidents

TWO people were killed and 11 people injured, two seriously, in road accidents yesterday.

Aliza Seals, 76, of Haifa, was killed when her car ran into a large truck at the Yagur junction. The junction has a traffic light, and police are trying to determine whether one of the vehicles ran a red light. The driver of the truck was lightly hurt, and taken to Rambam Hospital.

A 46-year-old Hebron man was killed and five people injured when two cars collided near the settlement of Eshkolot in the Hebron Hills.

Four people were hurt, one seriously, in an accident on the Trans-Samaria Highway, between the Kassem and Yarkon junctions. The four were taken by ambulance to Beilinson Hospital.

A 40-year-old woman was seriously injured yesterday afternoon, when her car was hit by a fire truck in Tel Aviv. Her car was thrown into a pole. She was taken to Ichilov Hospital, where she is in the intensive care unit. (Hina)

With deep sorrow, we announce the passing of our beloved mother
SARAH ROTHSTEIN ז"ל
née Licht
of Washington D.C.
The aron will arrive at 4:00 p.m. on El Al flight # 008.
The funeral will take place at Eretz Hachaim Cemetery, Har Tuv, Beit Shemesh, at approximately 5:00 p.m., today,
Monday, September 18, 1995 (23 Elul 5755).
For further details, call 02-818 888.
The mourners:
Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Rothstein and Family
Rabbi and Mrs. Avraham Cohen and Family

ברוך דין אמת
With great sorrow and profound grief, we announce the passing of our wife, mother and grandmother, a modest and noble woman, charitable and benevolent, who accepted her sufferings in love
ISABELLA (Bella) PARSSER ז"ל
wife of Jacob Parsser ז"ל
daughter of Moshe Chaim Elzas ז"ל
The funeral took place on Sunday evening (23 Elul 5755) at Har Hamenuhot Cemetery.
The bereaved families in Israel and abroad, Parsser, Elzas, Spitzer, Dusseldorf
Shiva at the home of the deceased, 98 Rehov Hapisa, Bayit Vagan.

The World Wizo Executive mourns the passing of
ANTONIETTA FEFFER ז"ל
Honorary President of Wizo Brazil
Devoted Wizo Member for many years
Wizo extends condolences to her family

With deep sorrow, we mourn the loss of our beloved husband, father and grandfather
HENRY MARKHAM ז"ל
Muriel Markham
Naomi and Timmy Lawson
Helen and Daniel Turner and families
Shiva at 10a Nitza Blvd., Netanya.

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הכנסת הארבע

US hoping for accord on Mideast bank soon

Jerusalem Post Staff and news agencies

A SENIOR US official said yesterday that Washington hoped for agreement on a Middle East development bank before the regional economic summit in Amman in October.

US Undersecretary of State for Economics and Business Affairs Joan Spero told reporters in Amman that Washington hoped a regional Middle East Bank with a proposed \$5 billion in capital would be the highlight of the coming Amman summit, due to open on October 29.

"We hope coming out of Amman there will be institutional developments...it is the regional hope that we share that the bank will come to fruition in Amman...we hope there will be agreement on the bank," Spero said during a one-day visit to meet Jordanian officials over preparations for the summit.

But indications are that the European Union opposes the creation of such a bank. Last week, during a visit to Israel, Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez said most European countries oppose the idea, believing there are enough lenders in the area and that the World Bank and the EU's investment bank have already pledged billions of dollars to the region.

Gonzalez's opinion is considered decisive, since Spain holds the rotating chairmanship of the EU. Without European funding, it is unlikely the bank would be established.

Spero admitted there was still disagreement over the structure of the bank and the "eventual financial support for it," adding that countries that were wavering in their support could be won over after the bank was set up.

"We are not going to be able to set up a bank overnight, it's a complicated process," Spero said.

More than 1,000 government leaders and businessmen will attend the three-day Amman conference, which is a follow-up to last November's Casablanca economic summit.



Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin begins yesterday's cabinet meeting, at which no policy matters were discussed, with a New Year's toast. At his right is cabinet secretary Shmuel Hollander. Rabin also extended New Year's greetings to the entire Jewish people, as well as to members of the cabinet, and a group of new immigrant IDF soldiers and officers who were invited to the meeting. (Isaac Harari)

Offer pays NIS 700,000 penalty

THE indictment against businessman Yuli Ofer was canceled yesterday by Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court, after the court was satisfied that Ofer had paid the NIS 700,000 penalty imposed on him by Attorney-General Michael Ben-Yair.

Ofer had been indicted for making illegal campaign contributions to the Likud in the 1988 elections, then using fictitious receipts to claim VAT refunds.

Had the case come to trial and resulted in conviction, he would have been barred from serving on the board of the United Mizrahi Bank, which he purchased as part of a consortium earlier this year.

With the penalty, Ben-Yair reversed his earlier decision that the case be brought to trial. (Itim)

Namir: Peace process stopped anti-Israel move at Beijing forum

'Syrian, Lebanese delegates only ones to criticize Israel'

MICHAEL YUDELMAN

BECAUSE of the peace process, no anti-Israel resolution was adopted at the close of the UN's Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing last week. Labor and Social Affairs Minister Ora Namir told the cabinet yesterday.

Namir, who headed the Israeli delegation to the conference, reported to the cabinet on it and the meetings she had with delegation leaders and senior Chinese officials.

The UN's women's conferences have always ended with political resolutions condemning Israel, Namir said, noting that this time Israel was not even mentioned. This would not have been

possible without the peace process and the rise in Israel's international status as a result of its efforts to solve the Israeli-Arab dispute.

The statement issued last Friday at the close of the conference consisted of only two political resolutions, one against occupation and the holding of occupied territories, and another denouncing terrorism in all its forms.

The only criticism of Israel was voiced by the Syrian and Lebanese delegates. In contrast, Namir had what she described as warm and cordial meetings with Susan Mubarak, head of the

Egyptian delegation; Princess Basma, head of the Jordanian delegation; and Minister of Women's Affairs Nazir Zarak, head of the Tunisian delegation.

After the cabinet meeting, Namir said that the only countries in which women have achieved equality in government and local authority are the Scandinavian states.

In Israel, she said, women's status still leaves much to be desired due to unequal pay, inferior representation in political institutions and in all matters pertaining personal status and the family. "In these fields, it appears we have not made any progress," she said.

WHO conference opens here today

JUDY SIEGEL

HEALTH ministers from 24 countries and senior officials from 25 others have arrived to attend the 45th annual meeting of the World Health Organization. The event — the first-ever meeting in Israel of a UN organization — opens at the Holiday Inn Crowne Plaza in Jerusalem this morning. The ceremonial opening this evening at Hutzot Hayotzer will be attended by Health Minister Ephraim Sneh, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and other dignitaries.

According to the WHO, the level of health in the 50 countries in the region has, on the whole, declined over the past five years. While there have been gains in some nations, others deteriorated because of economic collapse, growing inequity and poverty, as well as the aging of the population. Life expectancy has declined in the former Soviet Union, with more deaths from accidents, homicides, suicide and stress- and alcohol-related cardiovascular diseases, as well as polluted environments.

The regional meeting will attempt to update the WHO's policies regarding health care reform,

women's and children's health, infectious diseases, non-communicable diseases and environmental health.

WHO Chairman Dr. Hiroshi Nakajima has arrived for the week-long gathering, along with Dr. J. E. Asvall, chairman of the European region. In addition to deliberations at the Jerusalem hotel, the participants will also meet President Ezer Weizman, and tour Jerusalem, the Weizmann Institute of Science in Rehovot and Old Jaffa.

Among the countries to send their health ministers are Albania, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Ireland, Kazakhstan, Romania, Russia, San Marino, Tajikistan, Macedonia, Turkey, Turkmenistan and Ukraine.

There are six regions in the WHO. Some years ago, Israel moved from the Eastern Mediterranean region to the European region because of difficulties it faced from Arab countries. The European region encompasses 850 million people, from Greenland in the northwest, the Mediterranean in the south to the Pacific coast of Russia in the east.

National Council for R & D re-established

JUDY SIEGEL

A NEW National Council for Research and Development (NCRD) will convene for the first time today after years of inactivity. The festive ceremony, at the Jerusalem International Convention Center, will be attended by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Science Minister Shlomo Aloni.

Aloni and her director-general, Zvi Yanai, initiated the re-establishment of the council, chaired by Prof. Yitzhak Pannas, to serve as the national body for directing scientific R&D. Prof. Ephraim Katzir, the fourth president, will deliver the main lecture.

NCRD members include the chief scientists of the various ministries, the president of the Israel Academy of Sciences, chairman of the planning and budgeting committee of the Israel Council for Higher Education, Treasury officials, industrialists, senior scientists, and others appointed by the science minister.

The first meeting was to have been held last July 16, but it was suddenly canceled because of the death of deputy defense minister Mordechai Gur.

Since 1994, a smaller "supreme committee" (committee of the

13) for the development of scientific and technological infrastructure has been meeting; it has served as a nucleus for the new national council, but will continue to function. The committee of the 13 will this year have NIS 67 million at its disposal for research in five fields: electronics, materials sciences, biotechnology, microelectronics, and computer information and telecommunications. Next year, this budget will be over NIS 100m.

While the committee of the 13 focuses on research related to infrastructure, the NCRD will have operational powers and deal with all civilian R&D. According to Yanai, it will have a central role in setting general policy and national priorities and in preparing a multi-year, interministerial plan that will help the Finance Ministry prepare the state budget.

The NCRD will also prepare an annual report on the state of R&D, commission surveys, advise and set criteria for organization R&D databases.

Israel-Egypt student swap falls through

RACHEL NEIMAN

A planned beach clean-up and exchange between Israeli, Jordanian, and Egyptian students went bust yesterday. A group of Tel Aviv University students waited at the Taba border, but did not enter Egypt because a reciprocal busload of Egyptian schoolchildren did not arrive.

It is not yet known why the Egyptians failed to show up.

Jordan also did not participate, as Akaba held its clean-up on Thursday, which is a day off. The governor of the Akaba regional authority said he did not want children to miss a day of school.

However, 800 Israeli schoolchildren and 200 soldiers did clean up Eilat's beaches yesterday, as part of the worldwide Clean Up the World activities over the weekend.

Gulf Clean-Up Day organizer Gideon Bromberg, of EcoPeace, said the event was still a success. "The exchange would have been icing on the cake, but the purpose of the exercise was for all three neighboring countries to clean up the area on the same occasion."

NEWS IN BRIEF

Inspectors check Tnuva's milk production

Inspectors from the Health Ministry's Food Service Division yesterday examined the production line of Tnuva's low-fat long-life milk in the company's Rehovot dairy, and approved the mechanical solution to replace the illegal addition of the anti-foaming agent dimethyl siloxane, which has caused much controversy. The ministry will look at the production lines for 3 percent long-life Tnuva milk today. Only after receiving the results of tests on milk samples will they decide when to allow the resumption of marketing of low-fat long-life Tnuva milk, the ministry said. Judy Siegel

Three Safed officials questioned by police

Three senior Safed municipal officials were detained for questioning yesterday and several more were ordered to appear for questioning in a continuing police probe of financial irregularities in the municipality. Workers reported that the atmosphere at City Hall is very difficult, as they fear that every day the police will come and arrest more employees. "Work continues as usual," Safed Mayor Moshe Haniya insisted yesterday. "There's a lot to do. I hope the police will finish its investigation quickly and prove there is no stain on the city workers." Itim

Afula celebrations marred by protests

The city of Afula launches its 70th anniversary celebrations this week, with right-wing groups threatening to stage demonstrations at tomorrow's major opening event and disrupt a planned address by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Speaking at a news conference yesterday, Deputy Mayor Uzi Golan reacted sharply to the threats, saying it is inconceivable that people would come to the city simply to start provocations and ruin the celebrations for those who live there and deal with its day-to-day problems. Itim

Doctor given six years for raping patients

Dr. Moshe Kramer, 44, a Haifa specialist in sex disorders and skin diseases, was sentenced yesterday by the Haifa District Court to six years' imprisonment and a two-year suspended sentence, after being convicted of raping and molesting several patients. Kramer denied the charges to the end, insisting that he had examined his patients in a medically acceptable manner. Judge Natan Kleinberger rejected Kramer's attorney's request for leniency, noting that Kramer had "grossly violated the trust placed in him; trust that is vital in the profession of medicine." Itim

Yehuda Spiegel dies at 82

Dr. Yehuda Spiegel, a leading figure in promoting religious-Zionist immigration and a former director-general of the Religious Affairs Ministry, died over the weekend and was buried yesterday in Tel Aviv. He was 82. Born in Ungvar, Hungary, Spiegel actively promoted aliya in Russia, and himself immigrated in 1937. A trained teacher who also completed law studies, he served as a top aide to Rabbi Yehuda Leib Maimon. Itim

Health Ministry: Don't boil filtered water

JUDY SIEGEL

WATER that is boiled in an electric kettle after passing through water filters may in the long term cause damage to the kidneys and other organs, the Health Ministry said yesterday.

The ministry has begun testing all water filters on the market to determine which of them cause a buildup of nickel in the water after boiling in an electric kettle, and will soon release data about those that may be harmful.

The ministry said it investigated the matter after receiving queries from people using the filters, which remove chlorine and other

chemicals from water.

"Thus we recommend not boiling such filtered water in an electric kettle unless the kettle's instruction booklet states it is suitable for such water," the ministry said.

At the end of 1993, the ministry set a standard for the amount of nickel permitted in water, but it has not yet become a requirement by law. The ministry noted that Israel's drinking water meets international standards and does not need to be filtered. It will continue to test filters and publish the results when they are ready.

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Gerry Adams lashes out at John Major

DUBLIN (Reuters) - Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams returned from a US visit yesterday and accused Britain of undermining the peace process in Northern Ireland by demanding the IRA hand over its weapons as a prelude to all-party talks.

Sinn Fein, the political wing of the IRA, said Adams told reporters at Dublin airport he had not come back from the United States with any firm proposals to break the logjam in the peace process caused by Britain.

But he said that he was encouraged by the trip and that President Bill Clinton was "focused" on the obstacles and knew what needed to be done to salvage the process.

A planned Anglo-Irish summit was called off earlier this month at the last minute because Dublin disagreed with Prime Minister John Major's insistence on the handover of weapons before Sinn Fein could join substantive political talks.

Officials from the two governments have since been trying to find a way out of the impasse and thus head off the threat of a resurgence of violence in British-ruled Northern Ireland.

The province has enjoyed a year of uneasy peace since the IRA, which wants to reunite Northern Ireland with the Irish Republic to the south, and its pro-British extremist Protestant foes called a truce to a 25-year-old civil war that claimed more than 3,000 lives.

"What is required from John Major is that he also declare a complete cessation of hostilities and stop undermining the peace process. Disarmament should be made an objective and not an obstacle," Adams said.

He said he doubted that the "internal dynamics" between Britain and Ireland would be enough to budge Major. Someone acceptable to both sides was therefore needed to help create the breathing space necessary for movement.

The abortive summit had been expected to agree on an international commission, headed by former US Senator George Mitchell, to look at the vexed question of militia arsenals.

Adams said that he had explored with the White House a number of propositions designed "to get the British off the decommissioning hook" but that there were limits to what Irish republicans would accept.

"Any project or device or measure which is seen by the British as one which can deliver their precondition or which is seen by them as a collection agency for IRA weapons is clearly not a runner," he said.



Hong Kong voters from a rural area of the colony try to push into a polling booth yesterday after election officials refused to allow them to cast their ballots when their names were not found to be on the register. (Reuters)

Hong Kong looks to defy Beijing, votes for pro-democracy camp

News agencies
HONG KONG

VOTING in their last election under British rule yesterday, Hong Kong residents appeared to opt heavily for pro-democracy candidates promising a defiant stance toward their future Chinese rulers, according to an exit poll.

ATV television said the poll indicated that 17 of 20 legislative seats covered by the exit poll would fall to pro-democracy candidates. Hong Kong's legislature has 60 seats in all.

Government-owned radio, while cautioning that the poll by Hong Kong University was only an indication of the vote, said it suggested a pro-democracy landslide.

It said the Democratic Party, the colony's leading critic of China, captured 12 seats.

Several other pro-democracy candidates are running in smaller parties or as independents. Independent Emily Lau and Christine Loh, prominent critics of China, would win, the exit poll said.

If exit polls are correct, the balloting would be a resounding rebuff to China, which takes over the colony in 653 days.

Within an hour of the polling stations opening their doors, Chi-

na renewed its vow to dismantle the chamber when it resumed sovereignty of the colony at midnight on June 30, 1997.

Chris Patten, the colony's appointed governor and a former British government minister, immediately derided Beijing's comments, sparking a sneering response from one of China's top representatives in Hong Kong.

"It seems to me to be an astonishing way to try to win the hearts and minds in Hong Kong to say, at the moment when the people in Hong Kong are taking part in the most credible and democratic election in our history, that you're going to give the whole thing the thumbs down," Patten said.

The bickering failed to deter voters, who turned out in record numbers. Due to an expanded electorate, the percentage was lower than in 1991 partial polls.

The battle for what was once scorned as nothing more than a colonial rubber stamp was a ferocious one as the pro-democracy lobby and the pro-Beijing camp slugged it out for power - and

perhaps political survival - in the countdown to 1997.

China's renewed threat to kill off the Legislative Council less than half way through its normal four year term may have damaged the pro-Beijing lobby's chances.

"Nobody likes to be pushed around or bullied," said political scientist Michael DeGolyer, director of the 1997 Transition project based at Baptist University.

A deputy director of the Xinhua office in Hong Kong dismissed Patten's remarks as "laughable". Xinhua's Zheng Junsheng told reporters the governor should feel ashamed of himself because it was his fault that China could not recognize the elections.

The Patten reforms which so infuriated China swept away appointed members, lowered the voting age to 18 from 21 and gave working people a second ballot.

Though only modest in scope, they represented a considerable advance for a politically cocooned Hong Kong used to watching the governor, the civil service and a handful of business leaders and worthies appointed to the Legislative Council determine policy.

Yet China surprisingly did not demand a boycott of the polls. It urged "patriotic" people to take part and pro-Beijing candidates are contesting many seats.

About 35 percent of Hong Kong's 2.6 million registered voters cast their ballots, a government spokesman said, less than the 39 percent in the 1991 partial elections.

Young and old, Chinese and foreigners, men and women: for many voters, this last election was a last chance to be heard before China takes over.

"It's the last chance because we don't know what will happen after 1997," said Rochi Horwani, an Indian import-export merchant who has lived in Hong Kong's raffish Wan-chai night club district for 15 years.

"Last chance" was a phrase heard frequently as voters trooped to schools, post offices and community halls, some alone, some with children in tow, to elect the legislature.

In one village, women in straw farmers' hats were among about 50 people who pushed past police into the polling station, complaining vociferously that they were excluded from the electoral register.

Candidates roamed the streets in colorful sashes and addressed passers-by with bullhorns from open-roof cars. They handed out leaflets in restaurants where Hong Kong families spend Sundays munching dim sum.

The most closely watched races were between candidates offering to work with China and opponents pledging to stand up to Beijing in defense of Hong Kong's freedoms.

Algerian presidential candidate killed

News agencies
ALGIERS

GUNMEN ambushed and killed a candidate for Algeria's presidential poll outside his home near Algiers yesterday, police sources said.

He was the first contestant for the controversial election opposed by Islamic militants to be killed.

In a separate incident, armed Islamic militants burst into a village as people slept and slit the throats of 15 people, witnesses said yesterday.

Seven of the victims were women and four were children - among the latest to die in a three-year Islamic insurgency that has rocked this north African nation.

About 50 militants armed with Kalashnikov assault rifles, automatic pistols and hunting rifles converged on Boukrane, about 150 km east of Algiers, witnesses said.

The assailants entered homes, slitting peoples' throats and then using the town's bulldozer to destroy the victims' houses as well as the mayor's residence, the witnesses said.

The four men among the dead were called out by name and then killed, and the women and children had their throats slit as horrified villagers watched, reports said.

The assailants stayed in the town for four hours, screaming political and religious slogans, villagers said.

In Boudouaou, near Bourmerdes, about 30 km east of Algiers, six or seven men gunned down Abdelhafid Benhadid out-

side his home the police sources said.

Benhadid was hit by several bullets as he left for work between 7 a.m. and 8 a.m. The official news agency APS said on August 27 that Benhadid had announced that he would run for president in the November poll.

He was one of at least 17 hopefuls who have announced they would compete. The election is due to take place on November 16. To stand, candidates have to obtain at least 75,000 signatures in support from 25 of Algeria's 48 provinces.

Muslim guerrillas, who are fighting to topple the army-backed authorities, and mainstream legal opposition parties oppose the elections. The legal opposition wants the authorities to negotiate with militants to end the violence before a poll.

The fundamentalists have vowed to wreck the election and Algeria has since seen an upsurge of violence including car bombs in which at least 40 people have been killed.

Benhadid, 48, was a former member of the National Liberation Front (FLN), which ruled Algeria as a one-party state for nearly three decades.

He was also president of an association to promote sporting and cultural exchanges among young people.

Yesterday, Ahmed Bencherif, who founded Algeria's para-military gendarmerie, announced he would run for president.

Pope demands arms sales to African states be halted

JOHANNESBURG (AP) - In a swipe at those who profit at Africa's expense, Pope John Paul II yesterday demanded an end to arms sales to Africa and pressure on corrupt regimes that loot resources and treasures.

Speaking at an outdoor Mass and a gathering of clergymen, the pontiff sharpened his blame for Africa's many miseries.

But his message was not all grim. He described South Africa, the nation he snubbed under apartheid, as an inspiration.

"A new dawn has risen," the pope said during a Mass attended by about 100,000 people, including Nelson Mandela, the nation's first black president. "Become what you want to be, the rainbow people of God."

The pontiff cited the Balkans and four African nations - Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan and Algeria - to follow South Africa's example and settle conflicts through negotiations and elections.

"Violence will give way to dialogue and agreement and the

lives of innocent men, women and children will no longer be in danger for reasons which, more often than not, they neither share nor understand," said the pope.

Repeating a central theme of his six-day trip that began in Cameroon and ends in Kenya, the pope insisted it is the world's "moral duty" to ease the suffering of Africans.

At a gathering of bishops and clergymen after the Mass, the pontiff was more direct. He said governments must halt arms sales to Africa and exploitive leaders have to examine their souls.

"About their actions they have to ask themselves: What will be the consequences for the people. In particular, what will be the consequences for the poor?" the pope told the congregation, which included Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, winner of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize.

He did not single out any leaders for corruption. But he bemoaned the fratricide that has forced millions of refugees from Rwanda and Burundi since last year.

"This is not just a question of statistics. These are our brothers and sisters," he said. The pope did not address allegations that priests helped instigate some of the killings in Rwanda.

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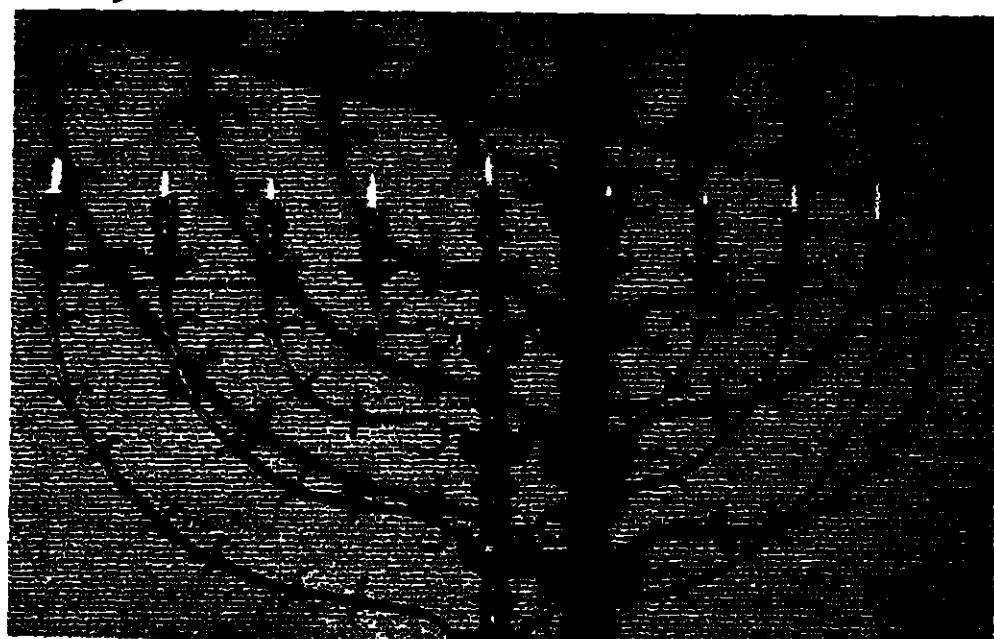
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The Farrakhan message

FOR the numberless Jewish fighters for civil rights in America, those tireless men and women who dedicated their lives – and sometimes sacrificed them – in the fight for equality and justice, Monday's "Million Man March on Washington" must have been a bitter pill to swallow. For the first time since the civil rights struggle began, the leadership of African-Americans is in the hands of an unabashed antisemite, a bigot in the style of the Ku Klux Klan and the fascists of the 1930s, a man who openly and ostentatiously hates Jews.

Not that relations between American Jews and blacks have been rosy in the past few decades. Ironically, it was soon after the civil rights bills were passed and discrimination and segregation outlawed everywhere in the US – thanks largely to mutual Jewish-black efforts – that relations between the two communities soured. Washington March organizer Louis Farrakhan may be the first to call Jews "blood suckers," and "slave traders." But it was presidential candidate and generally respectable leader Reverend Jesse Jackson who has referred to New York as Hymietown and openly supported Syrian dictator Hafez Assad and Hamas.

Many explanations have been offered for the change: the blacks felt that they had to fight their own battles, without white help; many of the whites involved in what the blacks perceived as "exploitation" – inner city landlords, shopkeepers and teachers – were Jews; the pseudo-Islamic movements, gaining popularity and power as real improvement in the state of blacks failed to materialize, were disseminating antisemitic propaganda to satisfy their Arab financiers; the Jewish community, which at first supported affirmative action, changed its mind when it realized that quotas were hurting Jews in universities and the professions; the Jews' success in transforming themselves from an oppressed minority to an outstanding part of the establishment produced black envy.

It must be left to sociologists and psychologists to determine which of these and other explanations apply, and what factors have played a role in causing the estrangement between the two communities. But the results are as indisputable as they are sad. The African-American community today is arguably the most antisemitic in the US.

The very fact that most black politicians, including such luminaries as Jackson (who has tried a reconciliation with the Jewish

community) and Congressman Charles Rangel, have found it injudicious not to identify with an event masterminded by a Farrakhan is a measure of his popularity and the impact of his message. To comprehend the enormity of this identification one need only imagine what would have happened had an avowed white antisemite called for a march on Washington and garnered the same kind of support.

Most American Jewish organizations, with the commendable exception of the Anti-Defamation League, preferred to ignore the implications of the Washington event. Fearing that condemnation of Farrakhan would be interpreted as racism, they have apparently decided to let the establishment do the talking for them. Indeed, President Bill Clinton and General Colin Powell probably expressed what most Americans felt when they unequivocally rejected Farrakhan and what he stands for. Clinton applied referred to the black leader's rhetoric as "one man's message of malice and division."

But Jews must realize that far more dangerous than Farrakhan's fiery rhetoric is the campaign of historic revisionism which accompanies it. His charge that Jews were the leading slave traders and the foremost exploiters of blacks recalls the Big Lies of Nazi propaganda in the 1930s. But such poisonous fiction is being given legitimacy by tenured professors who spread propaganda in the guise of history, mindless advocates of "multi-culturalism" who support them, and weak-kneed university administrations who fear crossing them.

Nor are these charges the only ones of their kind. The demonization of Jews in universities, churches and "Nation of Islam" mosques covers the whole gamut of antisemitic lore. Holocaust denial and virulent anti-Zionism are but the best known, but by no means the only elements of the contemporary hate package.

What should worry America's Jews more than Farrakhan's rhetoric, then, is the acquiescence of the white establishment in this rewriting of history. The vast majority of white Americans still reject the more offensive epithets of bigots. But their children go to colleges in which Farrakhan's gospel is taught under Constitutional protection and with the tacit approval of the authorities. Unless such teaching is countered with a vigorous campaign of enlightenment, these children, both white and black, will not find Farrakhan's message of hatred quite as freakish and repulsive as their elders do.



Six 'conventional lies'

MOSHE ZAK

ACCORDING to a recent survey in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, 60 percent of Arabs in the territories support the interim agreement with Israel, while 65 percent believe Israel has no right to exist. In other words, support for the agreement doesn't necessarily imply acceptance of Israel.

The assumption that Arabs who support Oslo 2 accept Israel's right to exist is only one of six conventional lies that have taken root among Israelis.

A second such lie is that we have "pulled out of Lebanon." We are still stuck in Lebanon 10 years after the national unity government's decision to withdraw, because the other side's government isn't prepared to maintain a peaceful border. The last few days have supplied bloody evidence of this.

One hears the third conventional lie repeated again and again: that the only solution to terrorism is a political one. But what kind of political solution can be reached with the people who blew up New York's World Trade Center, or the federal building in Oklahoma?

A fourth conventional lie brought out by government spokesmen after every terrorist attack in Israel is that terrorists are the enemies of peace, and are trying to undermine the Israel-PLO agreement. This assumption gives the government an excuse not to respond to Palestinian terrorism, which is ongoing despite the PLO's commitment to end it.

Whether or not the negotiations that have begun between the PLO and Hamas end in a compromise formula, they are evidence that Hamas is willing to grant the PLO a temporary halt in terrorist activity until the Palestinian Authority is in control of the territories promised it by Israel. Is more proof necessary that Hamas doesn't only not want to interfere with the implementation of Oslo 2, but is even willing to aid it?

The fifth conventional lie: The end of occupation means the end of terror. The Algerian bombs in Paris and Lyons are proof this isn't so.

There is a sixth conventional lie. It isn't an Israeli invention, but a Syrian one, and it has gained a firm hold in Israel. It is Hafez Assad's statement that he has made a strategic decision in favor of peace with Israel.

Assad has made no such decision – and if he says he has, it is to

Assad believes he can weaken Israel through quasi-negotiations

cover the fact that his war option crumbled together with the collapse of his strategic pillar, the Soviet Union.

Assad has never revealed the price he is willing to pay for his "strategic decision in favor of peace," nor has he shown any willingness for compromise. Nonetheless, Israel responded to his first demands by stating it was ready for a withdrawal from the Golan.

But that doesn't satisfy Assad. He has demanded Israel's explicit commitment to withdraw to the June 4, 1967 borders – in other words, Israeli recognition of Syria's conquest of land after invading Israel in 1948, and Israeli acceptance of Syrian conquests beyond the international border.

ASSAD deflated the "strategic decision in favor of peace" balloon by refusing to discuss setting up early warning stations on both sides of the border. And he re-

neged on his agreement to begin talks between IDF and Syrian officers as a continuation of meetings between the two chiefs of staff.

Yet our government still persists in believing that Assad has made a "strategic decision in favor of peace." It still assumes that his desire to regain the Golan will outweigh his lack of enthusiasm for genuine peace with Israel.

As Assad explained to the editor of Egypt's *Al-Ahram* last week, he's in no rush. He has no problem with the status quo, whereby the Golan is in Israeli hands, and there is no formal state of peace. It suits him to give protection to the headquarters of the Palestinian terror organizations in Damascus, and Hizbullah's threatening Israel from Syrian-controlled Lebanon is just fine.

Assad, who hasn't relinquished the banner of Ba'athist ideology, has lost nothing by his extended negotiations with the US and indirect talks with Israel. Egypt, the PLO and Jordan have left him the only authentic representative of Pan-Arab nationalism vis-à-vis Israel. Assad finds his courtship by the US and Israel very convenient, and he believes that these quasi-negotiations only weaken Israel.

After the Six Day War, some Arab intellectuals claimed that the only way to erode Israel was through peace, which might isolate Israel from the source of its strength, world Jewry. Western journals ran articles in this vein by Boutros Boutros Ghali and Albert Hourani.

Assad has improved on the concept. He wants to achieve similar ends not via genuine peace, but through brandishing a "strategic decision in favor of peace."

We must not give any credence whatever to the conventional lie of Assad's readiness for genuine peace.

The writer, a veteran journalist, comments on public affairs.

Civil disdain

PHIL BAUM

THE extreme right in Israel has seized upon a tactic most recently made famous by the extreme left in the US, as a way of challenging the decisions of their democratically elected government. Civil disobedience has become the tool of choice for those in Israel who seek to undermine the peace process.

It is difficult to fault any group for using a method sanctioned and graced by Henry David Thoreau, Mahatma Gandhi, and Martin Luther King. Nonetheless, more than any other form of social protest, this is a course of conduct whose moral quality depends on considerations of context and circumstance. And those considerations are independent and separate from whether one agrees with the social or political objectives being pursued.

Under the best of circumstances, civil disobedience is a morally uncertain and dangerous strategy, one that has challenged political theorists for centuries. The only point upon which there is genuine consensus is that, when confronted with an unjust, peptempory and overbearing government, with no possibility of change through persuasion, argument or other pacific means, civil disobedience is morally justified.

Clearly, the requisite conditions were satisfied in the case of Gandhi's protest against the British, and no less so in the case of Martin Luther King facing repressive, exclusionary state governments in the American South.

But how in the world do they apply to the current right-wing protests?

In this country there are free elections, a Knesset, a contentious press, and complete freedom for strenuous debate. As our political history has repeatedly proved, the conditions and opportunity for orderly political change are amply available and accessible.

Indeed, the Oslo 2 agreement has just been ratified by the Knesset by the slimmest possible mar-

The tactic used by right-wing protesters strikes at democracy

gin, and the chance that the vote will be reversed on similar issues in the future cannot be foreclosed.

CURRENT right-wing civil disobedience cannot, without cynicism, be passed off as an exercise in nonviolence. More subtly than some others, perhaps, but no less deliberately, these practitioners of civil disobedience rely for their effectiveness on the ultimate deployment of force.

When masses of people lie down and block a traffic intersection, they expect – indeed hope – that police will be dispatched. They count on the inevitable photographs of helpless, innocent demonstrators struggling in the arms of helmeted police wearing fearsome opaque visors, armed with batons, using water hoses or other photographic examples of civil oppression.

It is unacceptable to claim a nonviolent intention when the strategy is calculated to incite and inspire a violent response. It is the fact of that response and the resulting public shock and notoriety that is the principal objective of the act.

There is a difference between peaceful assembly and mass action designed to challenge the continued functioning of government. In a democracy, peaceful protest must be guaranteed every possible protection. But unless there is a decision that the existing social order is fundamentally untenable and not worth preserving, it is irresponsible to the point of immorality to seek to tear apart the basic fabric of society.

Civil disobedience may be morally justified as a surrogate for revolution; it is not justified as a surrogate for public relations.

To be sure, there are truly passive forms of civil disobedience not designed to incite the use of force. Hunger strikes are an example. But these strategies are less frequently used because their nonviolent character renders them less spectacular, and therefore less effective.

The right-wing demonstrators maintain they are expressing their disdain for the Rabin government. In fact, they are expressing their disdain for democracy.

The writer is executive director of the American Jewish Congress.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

'ZO ARTZENU'

Sir, – In his article of September 14, Education Minister Amnon Rubinstein denounces Zo Artzenu for having planted children at the head of demonstrations.

In fact, there were two separate actions the day before. The Women in Green went with their children to meet with President Weizman. Afterwards those women who chose to join the Zo Artzenu demonstration several blocks away left their children in the care of others.

In comparing Zo Artzenu to "our foes" (currently our "partners in peace"), Mr. Rubinstein disenfranchises an entire segment of the public and exacerbates tensions among the very people he seeks to unify. In so doing, he seems more a propaganda minister than an education minister.

As a participant in the Zo Artzenu demonstration, I also take issue with the allegation that demonstrators were "...scuffling with and verbally abusing police and soldiers..." Our organization is committed to non-violence, both physical and verbal. Demonstrators were instructed by the organizers beforehand not to bring weapons, to tie their hands above their heads and when approached by the police, to peacefully sit down and not resist arrest. The reality I observed stood in direct contrast to the implication of the above quote that it was the demonstrators who initiated the scuffling. Although it must be said in their favor that they did not physically attack those who had their hands tied above their heads, it seems the police felt at liberty to brutally attack ("disperse") peaceful demonstrators without provocation.

JOSH WANDER
Jerusalem.

HABONIM REUNION

Sir, – This is the 60th anniversary of North American Habonim Dror. In celebration of this event, there will be a reunion at Kibbutz Gezer on Saturday November 4.

The registration fee of NIS 40 will include a light kosher lunch and snacks. A limited number of overnight accommodations for Friday and/or Saturday will be available. Please call me at 09-601769 for further information and to register.

ADA AGRONIN
Chairperson, Reunion Committee
Herzliya.

GRIM ALTERNATIVES

Sir, – At the present rate of giveaways, Israel's 50th anniversary will probably be its last. Now we must yield because we can't let 450 Hebrew residents stand in the way of peace. Next it will be the few thousand people who live in the settlements who can't be the obstacle. From there it's not much of a step to abandoning the few million who live in the larger cities.

To those who staunchly support the "peace process" and to those who abstain from objecting because they believe it will not affect them I feel obliged to say that their future options will be to either live under Palestinian rule or to ask for political asylum elsewhere. I hope they will give thought to these alternatives.

ANNE GASNER
Jerusalem.

LOGICAL CONCLUSION

Sir, – Prime Minister Rabin recently stated that Jews who do not have sons and daughters in the army defending the state should not be giving ideas on how to carry out the government's agreements with the PLO, and should stick to other problems. This is an interesting statement and should be carried out to its logical conclusion: the Arabs in the Knesset should not be allowed to vote on the fate of the State of Israel as they do not participate in the defense of the state.

MURRAY S. GREENFIELD
Tel Aviv.

PERSPECTIVE NEEDED

Sir, – It seems President Ezer Weizman does not see the wood for the trees. His decision to stop the release of the two Palestinian women prisoners is shortsighted and ill-judged.

In order to make peace, the killings of war must be relegated to the past. War crimes are an exception. Are the two Palestinian women guilty of war crimes?

It is hard to criticize the president of the State of Israel for he is supposed to be our symbol of dignity and wisdom. The present one is destroying that image. He meddles rather than presides.

A little study of history, especially recent French and British colonial history, could give him a perspective he lacks.

ANNA BEGUN
Tel Aviv.

CROSSED WIRES

Sir, – In his article "A recipe for anarchy" (September 14), Amnon Rubinstein seems to have gotten his wires crossed.

Referring to "Zo Artzenu," he says "by trampling on the nation's civil code of ethics, they mock the laws and authority that guarantee their freedom of expression." The trampling is being done by a minority government which has no ethics and has signed an agreement with the terrorist Arafat. Rabin's new-found peace partner has chosen to ignore most of the clauses in that agreement and Rabin has chosen to ignore the infractions. As for "freedom of expression," the only forum for that scarce commodity these days is in the Knesset where our self-seeking politicians, without any restrictions, can babble incessantly, scream, yell, punch and hold solid ground strikes on any subject, in any manner, thus relieving their frustrations. But what about that part of the population to whom Rabin has turned a deaf ear and a callous heart? For them, there is no "freedom of expression." This government has premeditatedly and villainously used threats and brutality to shut them up.

As for Rubinstein's statement, "who makes the laws in the country – elected officials, or a bunch of misguided offenders bent on destroying our foundations for the sake of political gain?" I could have sworn that he was talking about the government.

FRAN GOLDSTEIN
Givat Shimon.

HOLY SITES

Sir, – I assume that there are secular Arabs among the Palestinians. But I can't imagine that, were they to achieve the leadership of their people, they would dismiss the devotion of their religious brothers to Moslem holy sites.

When the rest of the world sees that the Jewish leaders view the holiness of our sites as just another piece of real estate, while the Moslems revere all of theirs, they cannot help but agree to the Arab claims. It doesn't take a judgment of Solomon to decide who are the legitimate owners of the Holy Land. The behavior of the claimants is more convincing than any argument.

ZVI STONE
Jerusalem.

Handy excuse for murder

MISGENAU Chakula, a new immigrant from Ethiopia, recently murdered his wife Ateklat. Before her blood had dried, we were flooded with "cultural" explanations for the murder.

The media and the authorities like to bandy about labels like "murder for the sake of family honor" or "murder stemming from cultural differences." These serve well to allocate blame, avoid responsibility, and raise funds for organizations.

It's easy enough to persuade most people that "they" are guilty: Russians from a violent society; Ethiopians from a primitive society; Arabs from a fundamentalist society.

That just leaves us with one question: Why do ordinary Israeli men murder their wives? The simple answer – there is no connection between murder and cultural background, except for the one made by politicians and other interested parties.

Men who murder women have no cultural background. They are repellent, uncultured individuals who have exhausted all other oppressive impulses.

In a recent radio interview program, Immigrant Absorption Minister Yair Tzaban cited cultural differences to explain the recent murder. From the immigrants' point of view, he said, the move to Israel constitutes a total breakdown of the traditional structure of life, dealing a heavy blow to men's status vis-à-vis their wives.

Tzaban gave a striking example of this problematic change. Just imagine, he said, how the man must feel when his wife co-signs

ESTHER HERTZOG

the contract to buy their new house. In a word: "Culture shock" is to blame for violence and wife murder by Ethiopian immigrants.

TZABAN has a neat solution: Educate the immigrants. Let them acquire our standards. In other words – give him the money, and he'll solve the problem.

How nice. Tzaban can go on educating immigrants for many years to come, and we can con-

The blame lies anywhere but on society's doorstep

niently forget about the absorption centers where thousands of immigrants are fated to spend many more years of hardship and deficiency.

We can forget the fact that conditions in those centers, far away from jobs, are a much more likely explanation for violence than "cultural norms" in the Ethiopian immigrants' receding past.

The police, who also know about the "cultural problem," wheeled out an Ethiopian expert to explain the predicament of the unfortunate Ethiopian male in egalitarian Israel who has lost his former position of authority over his wife.

But in Ethiopia, women had an alternative: Society there allowed them to leave abusive husbands and return to their parents' house.

The police and Mr. Tzaban know that, reveling in our enlight-

ened attitude toward the status of women, we easily forget that an abused woman in Israel is caught in a death trap. We forget that Ateklat Chakula turned to the police three times, complaining of her husband's violence against her and her children.

The welfare authorities play the cultural card too. The director of the Rehovot municipality's department for social services explained that his workers had tried to solve the problem by "traditional Ethiopian means." When these failed, for some reason, the woman refused to go to a shelter for abused women. So the murder was Ateklat Chakula's own fault!

The welfare authorities know that when we hear about how they understand immigrants' cultural needs, when we remember what a humane welfare state we are, we tend to forget that most abused women who apply to shelters get turned away because of the shortage of shelters. We forget that the police does nothing to protect these women; that the courts continue to pass light sentences on violent husbands. We forget that Ha'aretz ran a paid advertisement on August 11 from a men's organization which, in effect, condoned violence – and worse – against women.

Never mind. We can comfort ourselves with the happy ending, with the programs aimed at helping immigrants acquire our standards, and with the workshops for violent husbands run by women's organizations.

The writer lectures on sociology and anthropology at Beit Berl College in Kfar Sava.

מקלמי, אילן

Compromising Positions

Stand Fast or Pander: What's a Candidate to Do?

Senator Bob Dole,
1989

Asked whether he supported a ban on assault weapons, he says, "We've looked at some ways we could ban some of the guns — there's a chance we might go further than President Bush has gone."



Senator Phil Gramm,
1995

He seeks credit for every Federal dollar that goes to Texas, to the point of boasting, "I'm carrying so much pork, I'm beginning to get trichinosis."



Gov. Pete Wilson,
1970's through the
early 1990's

He backs an assortment of measures to give women and minorities preferences in hiring while he was Mayor of San Diego and during his tenure as Governor.



Gov. Bill Clinton,
1992

Throughout the campaign, he promises the middle-class a tax cut and even issues a plan that says flatly, "We should cut middle class taxes immediately by 10 percent."



By RICHARD L. BERKE

WASHINGTON
WITHOUT a trace of embarrassment, Senator Bob Dole this summer delivered an utterly undisguised political appeal: "I'm willing to be another Ronald Reagan," he told members of the Republican National Committee gathered in Philadelphia. "If that's what you want."

Giving the impression that his transformation from a pragmatist to a devoted Reaganite occurred overnight, Mr. Dole said he was responding to people who told him the night before that "what they are really yearning for in Philadelphia is another Ronald Reagan." His remarks were still more stunning because everybody (particularly the Republican faithful) knows that Bob Dole is no Ronald Reagan — and never pretended to be.

At the Drop of a Poll

Mr. Dole's comments — and his evolving (rightward) positions on issues ranging from affirmative action to gun control to welfare to homosexuals in the military — has led critics to lump him and most of his Republican competitors with President Clinton as politicians who will recast their positions at the drop of a hat — or, more to the point, the drop of a poll.

But there is a different way to look at why candidates say what they say: That it is part of a politician's job to respond to the citizenry. Perhaps it would be absurd for politicians, particularly experienced ones with decades of public service, to refuse to adjust their own positions to shifting public attitudes. Politicians may be fickle and uncertain because the voters are. Maybe everyone is searching for new, or seemingly new, approaches, and maybe the Doles and the Clintons are simply reflecting those attitudes.

"You don't convince people to support you for your reasons," said Gary Jacobson, a political scientist at the University of California at San Diego. "You convince them to support you for their reasons."

For politicians this can be a no-win predicament: They can abandon old positions as their views and those of their constituents evolve. But then they risk being labeled opportunistic. Or they can gamble that voters will credit them for sticking to their principles, even when those become unpopular.

"Somebody running for President has the opportunity to raise an issue in a way the rest of us don't," said William J. Bennett, the former Education Secretary and drug policy director who battled Hollywood long before Mr. Dole did. "But the danger always in politics, especially today, is that people will hear a note that's false, that doesn't ring true."

While he is pleased that Mr. Dole is speaking out on cultural issues, Mr. Bennett said he warned him that he might damage his credibility if the passion is not really there. "Bob Dole's not some young firebrand ideologue," Mr. Bennett said. "I'm worried that somebody's pushing him out on too many things, and

it looks adventitious."

The consensus among pollsters is that politicians have so little credibility with voters that there is virtually no practical advantage in cultivating the public's trust.

"It's a lot easier winning elections being cynical," said former Gov. Mario M. Cuomo, who was known for standing firm on issues like his opposition to the death penalty (and who often sought to score political points by making it known that he was no panderer). "You can fool more people than you lose right now."

That might explain why Mr. Dole ran from his support of a ban on assault weapons. Or why Gov. Pete Wilson of California, formerly a staunch backer of affirmative action, presents himself as its most outspoken opponent. Or why former Gov. Lamar Alexander of Tennessee, a former Education Secretary, advocates abolishing the Education Department.

It might also explain why last year Mr. Clinton, who had long opposed organized prayer in public schools, suggested he might consider supporting a Constitutional amendment to allow prayer as long as it was not coerced. After howls of protest, he retreated to his earlier stand.

These days, the bald appeals and overly nuanced positions are particularly striking as

Presidential candidates may be fickle and uncertain because the voters are.

Republicans curry favor with their quite conservative primary electorate. With few exceptions, they are loath to espouse positions that would be unpopular with their audience.

This summer each Republican candidate dutifully trooped down to Dallas to a conference to pay homage to Ross Perot. They were vying for independent voters, but did so appearing with a man whose run for President in 1992 may have cost their party the election.

Even if they make the calculation that it is smart politically to adapt to the public mood, the risk for these contenders is that they will cross the fuzzy line from responsive public servant to duplicitous panderer — and will be viewed as untrustworthy if they make it to the White House.

Thus, the conundrum for candidates: just how far should they go to appeal to voters?

Mr. Wilson has repeatedly insisted that he should not be penalized for responding to public changes of sentiment on affirmative action. "I have changed, and I think that most Americans have," he said.

Among contemporary politicians, Ronald Reagan was perhaps most successful in conveying a sense of principle by laying out a few fundamental beliefs. "The difference between Reagan and a lot of the people who are around today is that they spend most of their energy on

Senator Bob Dole,
1995

He vows to repeal the assault weapons ban saying, "Gun control is a completely ineffective approach to the lack of safety and security in our communities."



Senator Phil Gramm,
1995

Derides wasteful state projects and vows to be far more vigilant than Mr. Clinton in using the line-item veto to eliminate them. "President Clinton would use it to eliminate a piece of pork or bacon," he says. "I would eliminate the whole hog."



Gov. Pete Wilson,
1995

Leading the charge against affirmative action, he asserts, "What we may have done 20 years ago to change the culture of our society to get people in the door is not what we would do today if we're fashioning a new solution, which is what we're doing."



President-Elect
Bill Clinton, 1993

Before his inauguration, he says: "From New Hampshire forward, for reasons that absolutely mystified me, the press thought the most important issue in the race was the middle-class tax cut. I never did meet any voter who thought that."



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Education Mayors

Political Hands Reach for the Schools

By PETER APPLEBOME

NOT too long ago, big-city mayors like Rudolph W. Giuliani had enough to worry about without sticking their fingers into the messy goo of what ever was going on in the vast bureaucracies of urban schools.

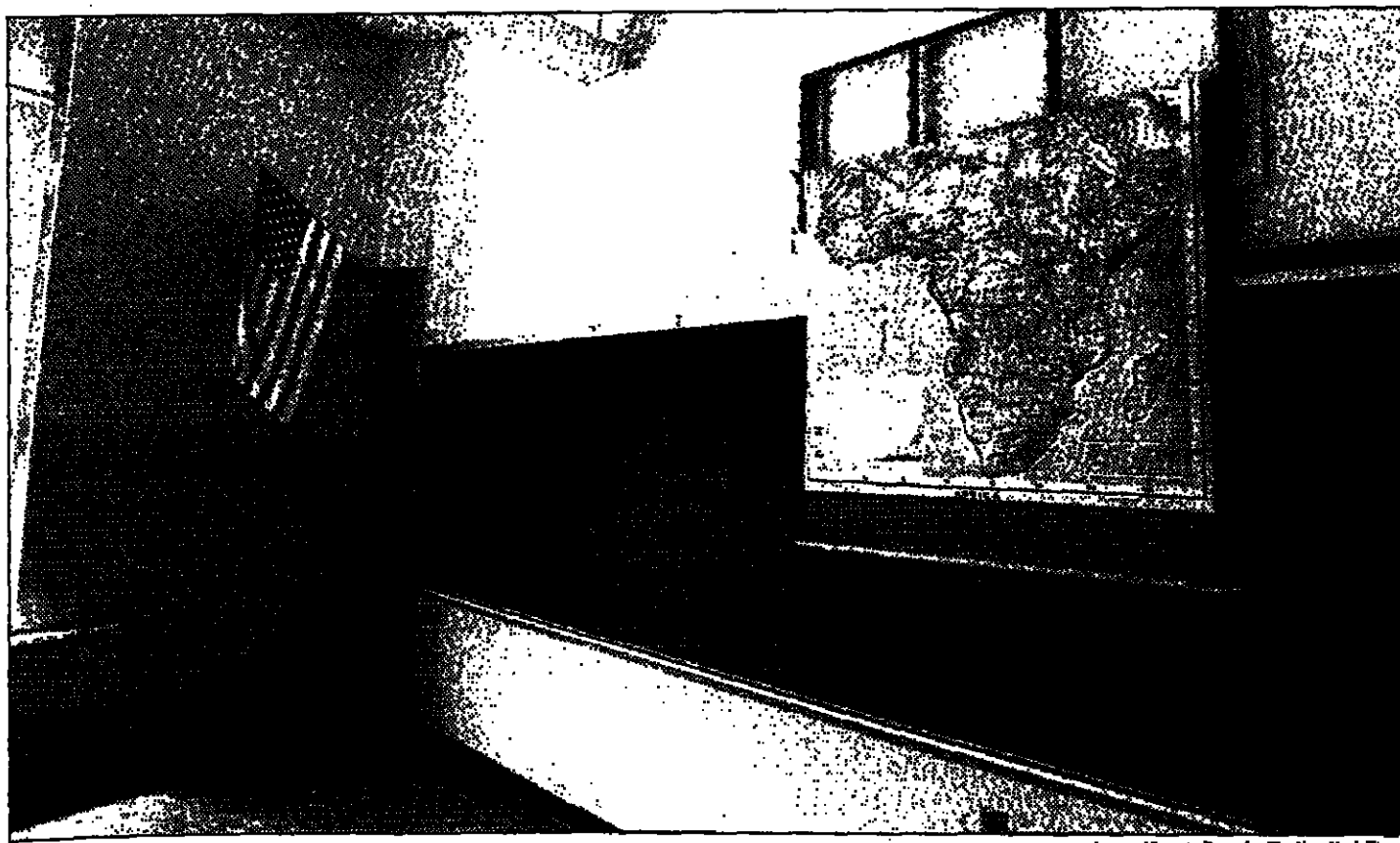
But Mr. Giuliani, who has spent weeks embroiled in the politics of who would be the next Chancellor of the city schools, is but one of the mayors around the country who find themselves caught up in the local, often chaotic, business of education.

It's My Problem

In truth, big-city mayors generally have no formal power to do anything about public schools. But either because the problems are so grave, because the need to do something is so obvious, because the lines between what's a school problem and what's a city problem have become hopelessly blurred, or because they figure they are going to get blamed anyway, mayors increasingly are defining the problems of the public schools as their problems.

"If you take a quick scan across the country at big central-city districts, it just jumps out at you how much of a role the mayors are playing," said Ted Kolderie, an expert on trends in urban education. "There's a fundamental logic to it. If you're the mayor of a central city and if on top of all the problems of personal security, taxes and services, there's a general perception that you don't want your kids in public schools, you're dead. If you're going to have any chance at all of keeping middle-class people in cities, you have to show them their people can go to public schools."

A look at the nation's three largest school districts is instructive. In New York, where the mayor appoints



Where public schools are falling apart, like this classroom in New Jersey, big-city mayors are trying to expand their powers.

only two of the seven members of the Board of Education, Mr. Giuliani is insisting that any new Chancellor support his proposals to take control of the school system's finances and security.

In Chicago, Mayor Richard M. Daley last spring was given the power by the State Legislature to run the school district, in

effect, by picking its top leaders. He can now name all five members of a new board of trustees. Before, he could only approve or reject slates for a 15-member board recommended to him by a nominating commission that often included his political enemies.

In Los Angeles, Mayor Richard J. Riordan, who has no authority over the public

schools but was an early supporter of the movement for innovation in the district, recently jumped into one of the city's touchiest issues. Appearing with a leading advocate of breaking up the giant, 640,000-student Los Angeles Unified School District,

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The Deserving Poor

Deciding who earns the right to be helped.

By Kimberly J. McLarin

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Memories

For whites, today's South Africa looks like America in the 1950's.

By Donald G. McNeil Jr.

2

Not So Fast

Backing into the technological future.

By Steve Lohr

4

The World

Seeing South Africa As the U.S.A., 1954

By DONALD G. McNEIL Jr.

ALMOST anywhere in South Africa, an American can pull off a perfectly paved road into a time warp. It's called a petrol station, and several smiling attendants will converge on the car, one washing the windows, one checking the oil, one filling the tires, one carefully topping off the tank with premium. The bathrooms are spotless, and a 56-cent tip — not necessarily even expected — leaves everyone beaming.

Welcome to the new South Africa, a country that despite rapid political change remains for now much like 1950's America, for better or worse. At least that's the way it can seem to a newly arrived American, particularly a white more likely to encounter a cocoon of white privilege in daily life than the hard lot of the black majority (more of which later).

Wistful, or Not

Because of years of international isolation, many of the changes of the 80's simply bypassed South Africa. And so, despite the essentially European nature of much of white South African culture, a white American here can feel a sense of déjà vu: visiting black Americans will no doubt be decidedly less wistful.

Civility is among the more positive throwbacks. In many ordinary encounters, South Africans are remarkably polite — to a transplanted New Yorker, almost maddeningly so. "Pleasure" (as in "it's a..."), said with ungrudging sincerity, is the standard response to "thanks." In America, that has faded from "you're welcome" to "yup."

Life offers a less complicated litany of choices. There are no microbreweries. Salad dressing is plain vegetable oil and vinegar. With hunting, one can find extra virgin olive oil and balsamic vinegar, but not 10 brands.

For the better-off, too, good food is cheap. A steak that a chef at the Palm would crawl through sawdust on his knees for is routine here at \$10. At steakhouses, even the Dieter's Special is nine sizzling ounces, and a huge roast haunch is derisively referred to on the menu as a "ladies filet."

While cellular phones are even more common than in New York (fewer of those pesky

skyscrapers), some wealthy neighborhoods still use rotary phones.

Johannesburg residents worry constantly about crime, but in cities like Durban, people unconcernedly leave their belongings on beach boardwalks.

Other throwbacks will strike many as less quaint. In white households, Dads still work and Moms put on makeup to drive children in pin-neat uniforms to school. Checking accounts are issued in the husband's name only. With his permission, the wife may co-sign. She may even use her own name — but skeptical merchants may want an explanation. And she is sometimes addressed by tradesmen working in her house as "dear."

With some important exceptions, journalism is content to repeat authority, not question it (there are only four channels on TV — the South African Government didn't even allow TV until 1976).

Houses have gardeners, not ChemLawn contractors. The common boast that "we worked really hard on our flower beds this year" ignores the gentleman who actually hefted the shovel.

And even worse echoes of America's "golden age" can be found. The police are still allowed to shoot at fleeing felons (they tend to be black), so passersby (again,

Whites will talk about "what these people want." No one blinks.

mainly black) die simply for being unlucky. Crime and suburban malls are killing once-elegant downtown shopping venues like Eloff Street here.

Environmentalism is barely awake. Gas is leaded, and those petrol stations don't have nozzles that suck back the fumes. A coal-smoke fog chokes townships in winter. Recycling is discouraged. Composting is rare.

And if life for wealthy whites seems to be on pause in the American 50's, for working-class blacks it seems trapped in the American 30's.

The end of apartheid laws hasn't ended apartheid economics. Almost all blacks are still in townships. The first glimpse of



In Johannesburg, at what's called a petrol station, the service is labor-intensive and a 56-cent tip welcome.

Soweto, for an American expecting something like Harlem or Watts, can be startling. The city, which is down the highway from Johannesburg, not in it, resembles nothing in America so much as it does that postwar icon, 1950's Levittown: row after row of identical houses with neat yards on curving suburban streets, all governed by strict zoning.

There are differences, though: the houses are cinderblock, and their yards are grassless; the streets have no signs (though on maps they have pretty names), and zoning laws control how many shanties the owner can build in his yard to rent (up to nine in poorer neighborhoods like Orlando East, none in fancier ones like Diepkloof Extension). Also, Soweto has barracks — the hostels where migrant workers stay — and it doesn't have cars.

In the cities, where blacks and whites mingle in daily commerce, momentary exchanges can really startle. If a white man pauses to let a black laborer with a load pass on the sidewalk, he might well hear "Thank you, my boss." Let him hold a door for a domestic of a certain generation, and he may hear "Thank you, master."

Invisible Men

Many South African whites still have the mental block that Ralph Ellison dramatized in "Invisible Man," published in 1952. They seem not to see blacks. When they speak about them, or even to them, the exasperated tone the Americans use when talking to or about children creeps subtly in. Or they use phrases — "what these people want" — that suggest that they barely draw distinc-



On the tracts of Soweto, a cinderblock Levittown without the grass.

tions between a Cabinet minister and a burglar. A plumber will say, in front of his black helper, that the blacks will make the country fall apart when President Nelson Mandela goes. An American holds his breath, expecting the helper to clock him with a pipe, or at least demur. Instead, nothing.

Language may be a barrier, but it's more likely just economics. With unemployment in Soweto at 45 percent, the helper needs the job. The boss can yammer on all he likes.

"Any waiter, any caddy, any domestic has experienced it," said Jacklyn Cock, a sociology professor at the University of the Witwatersrand who wrote "Maid and Madam: A Study in the Politics of Exploitation" in 1980. "It's just a central part of racism. It's one of the ways whites protect their dignity when they're so dependent in

an intimate sort of way on black people — they pretend that they don't exist."

But while South Africa seems superficially like the American 50's, it's important to look below the surface.

"Don't forget," said Heinz Klug, a former African National Congress exile who studied law in Wisconsin and California and now teaches it at the University of the Witwatersrand, "in the States in the 50's, life was secure, and whites had a sense it could only get better. Maybe there was The Bomb to worry about, but that was it. That's not true here."

"Similarly," he said, "African-Americans in the States then had a sense of political powerlessness. That's not true here, either. They know there's not going to be another white minority government. Those days are history."

Women of The World Disperse. To What?

By SETH FAISON

BEIJING

SO now what? At the close of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women on Friday, delegates exhausted by days of around-the-clock negotiations were left with a term-paper-sized document called a "Platform for Action," a plan for working toward equal rights for women.

The agreement specified that women should have access to credit; protection against all forms of violence, including rape, genital mutilation, domestic battering and sexual harassment; the right to inheritance (though not necessarily the same amount as men), and the right to make their own decisions about childbearing and sexuality. The document also promised to improve the status of girls

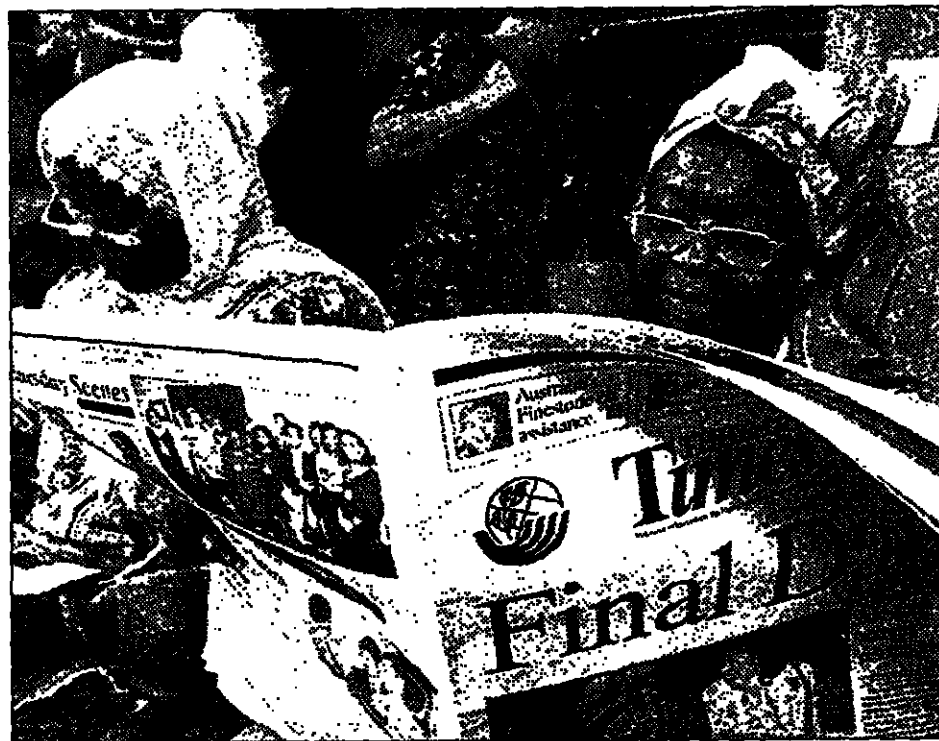
There is no nation where women and men are equals.

around the world (even the ones that haven't yet been born) and to support the family as the basic unit of society.

Those are ambitious goals. If some delegates felt a certain satisfaction just in having woven a multi-layered consensus among delegates from 189 states ranging from Libya to the Vatican to the United States, others were mindful that talking about rights is easier than actually achieving them.

The U.N. platform is not a legally binding document, but rather a guide for governments and the non-governmental organizations that lobby them. And previous women's conferences are well-known for issuing proclamations that lead to breathtakingly few concrete results. Has anything changed?

This time, delegates promised that the governments that agreed to the platform would be required to make commitments to implement specific items. Yet monitoring their progress is a sprawling, almost



On the final day of the conference, Tanzanian delegates read about their work.

impossible job, because women's rights are challenged and limited in every nation, and at virtually every level of government and society.

"There isn't a single country in the world — not one — where men and women enjoy equal opportunities," said Gro Harlem Brundtland, Norway's Prime Minister. "We cannot maintain the illusion that someone else is going to do the job and establish equality with men," she said. "We must fight for that freedom."

Few of the conference's delegates had grandiose illusions about what could be done. They did not expect that governments, particularly in countries low on resources or religious tolerance, would magically adopt new laws or practices to expand women's rights.

Change is likely to come only incrementally, and only where advocates, in most cases non-governmental organizations, fight existing practices, laws and customs. "No change happens anywhere until you fight for it," said Bella Abzug, the longtime advocate who is, in her way, the mother of all non-governmental organizations.

Ms. Abzug's plan of action in the United States, among other things, includes a women's network that will be mobilized to get out the women's vote in 1996. She is also hoping to persuade individual states to hold their own women's conferences to identify the laws and practices that discriminate against women.

But in many ways, the U.N. platform can be most useful in poor countries where the perils facing women in daily life — like kidnapping and bride burning and genital mutilation — are more daunting. It is in such countries, which often have traditional societies and limited legal systems, that

carrying out change is hardest.

Can a human rights document, issued by the U.N. and monitored by non-governmental organizations, make a real difference? Activists say it can, sometimes in unexpected ways.

Alice M. Miller, a lawyer with the International Human Rights Law Group in Washington D.C., tells the story of a woman in Costa Rica who was diagnosed with uterine cancer and whose doctor recommended a hysterectomy, only to be told by

Can a human rights document make a real difference?

her husband that he would not permit her to have such an operation, even if she risked death, until she bore him more children.

The woman went to court, and a judge was persuaded to rely on an international human rights standard to decide that she had the right to make a decision about her own body, regardless of her husband's wishes. It was a decision that Ms. Miller said would have been unlikely only a few years earlier.

"This document is not perfect," said Ms. Abzug. "But it is a way to take women forward. It's like a contract with the world's women. It acknowledges that they haven't been treated the way they should, and it spells out a great number of ways to fix that."

NATO's Front Line

Italy Demands A Little Respect

By CELESTINE BOHLEN

ROME

FINALLY, Italy put its foot down hard, really hard.

Enough of this kid-brother treatment, it told its allies in so many words last week, as it denied a request to station Bosnia-bound stealth fighter planes on its military runways. If you don't let us into your tree house and treat us like one of the big boys, then we won't let you play with our toys. So there.

But as any adult remembers from adolescence, stamping your feet may get attention, but it rarely wins respect. And that seems to be Italy's position at the end of a week during which it tried to do publicly what it has so far failed to do privately — namely, win a seat in the five-nation council called the contact group, which since 1994 has been trying to negotiate the fate of the former Yugoslavia.

Doing Their Part

The galling part for Italy is that it has a point. Italy's assistance has been crucial to the international effort throughout the three-year war in Bosnia. Virtually all its air bases are being used by NATO aircraft (many of the recent bombing runs have begun there), and its navy has been assigned the task of patrolling the Adriatic Sea. And last July, Italy added several of its own Tornado fighters to the roster of planes flying over Bosnia — thus matching Germany, which only this spring committed itself to the military effort.

During the summer, Italy, which next January takes over the six-month rotating presidency of the European Community, was led to believe that its loyal efforts would be paid back with a greater role within the contact group. Offered observer status at talks in Geneva last week, Foreign Minister Susanna Agnelli erupted, "As long as I am Foreign Minister no Italian will take back seat to anyone else."

Among other things, Rome is concerned that the contact group (the members are the United States, France, Britain, Germany and Russia) will take on a life of its own and evolve into a *de facto* European security council — just the kind of club any serious country would want to join.

But there is a problem in demanding to be let into an exclusive club: the refusal, if it comes, only confirms suspicions that the other members don't want you, and the more you press, the more likely you are to find out why. So far, no member of the

contact group has come right out and said it doesn't want Italy. America has argued that Italy's request is a European problem, while France says Italy has enough of a role as it is, and Germany has said that including Italy would only open the door to other applicants. "It feels like being at school," Mrs. Agnelli told reporters last week. "Each one of them says the other is to blame. Only one, a British diplomat, told me the truth: 'Nobody wants you.'"

So who can blame the Italians if their feelings are hurt?

Last week, commentators were asking why Italy — a founding member of the European Union with 57 million people, one of the world's largest economies and a cultural heritage that spans the history of Western civilization — now finds itself pushed to the edges of a diplomatic game in which it can claim a clear interest.

"They don't make the cut," said one Western diplomat, recalling how on the eve of the 1991 gulf war, Italy infuriated its allies with last-minute second thoughts. Certainly, Italy's record as an ally during much of this century was hardly stellar.

And even though the cold war was different — Italy proved Washington's most loyal European supporter — the cold war is over now. And Italy again finds itself handicapped by its internal politics — a national sport with too many competing teams that drive themselves in circles seeking consensus and, too often, avoiding responsibility.

Trapped in Stalemate

In fact, the Government that sent out the tough-talk message last week is itself a reflection of the Italian political stalemate: appointed rather than elected, it has no mandate, not even a stable parliamentary majority. And until a date for new elections emerges, it has no certain prospects.

For now, Italy seems at least to have won its point on the stealth planes: With NATO having called off its bombing runs while it tests Serb promises to withdraw heavy guns from the hills around Sarajevo, Washington has withdrawn its request to send radar-evading planes to Italy. Even so, as a noted commentator wrote this week in *Corriere della Sera*, Italy is hardly in a position right now to conduct a national debate on committing ground troops across the Adriatic to insure any peace that may come to Bosnia. And until Italy is ready to conduct that kind of serious debate, it will be relegated to "dancing on the deck of the Titanic of uncertainty, and the controversy over the stealth bombers will prove to have been just the tip of the iceberg."

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The Nation

For the Poor, Defining Who Deserves What

By KIMBERLY J. McLARIN

DISTINGUISHING the deserving poor from the simply lazy, the scammers from the unfortunate, the truly needy from those who just don't want to work, used to be easy.

Lots of people had humble beginnings, but poverty often seemed to be a temporary aberration brought on by elemental forces beyond an individual's control: a parent died or became disabled, the economy shriveled or collapsed. During the Depression, when thousands of desperate breadwinners lined up outside food pantries, Americans believed that it was society, and not the poor, that had failed. Hence the beginning of an enduring welfare experiment.

Congress was still grappling with the legacy of that experiment last week. In the Senate, moderates won more money for child care for poor women and fended off efforts by conservatives to deny any benefits to teen-age mothers and any additional benefits to women who had more children while on welfare. Conservatives applauded time limits and work requirements. A vote is due this week.

Society's attitude toward the poor has cycled like the seasons since the 16th century, when the Elizabethan Poor Laws provided beneficent relief for the young, the old

In the Depression, Government provided jobs. Now it is making people work.

and the infirm, and work for the able-bodied. By the 1800's poverty among the able-bodied had come to be viewed as a moral failing, but that attitude was tempered by humanitarianism later in the 19th century. The New Deal further codified welfare as a public responsibility, though some analysts say attitudes toward the poor hardened as government picked up the burden of charity from churches and other private sources.

But Lawrence M. Mead, a professor at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School, said that in the public eye, the line that separates deserving from undeserving has always been crystal clear: the willingness — given the physical ability — to work.

"The public is very upset by fact that many poor people appear not to help themselves," he said. "Employment is the great badge of whether you are deserving. If



Young men unable to find jobs elsewhere return from working in the forests to a Civilian Conservation Camp in Arkansas in 1933.

you're working, you're in a completely different category."

Is a single mother considered "able" to work? Traditionally the answer was no. In fact, the nation's main welfare program, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, was created in 1935 with the goal of keeping women at home with their children. But those women were mostly widows or abandoned wives, alone through no choice of their own. They had the nation's sympathy.

'Welfare Queens'

That sympathy withered as out-of-wedlock births skyrocketed. And now that most women work, a single mother who relies

solely on welfare for her income is seen as the most undeserving of the poor, said Michael B. Katz, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania and author of "The Underserving Poor: From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare" (Pantheon, 1990).

That woman became the welfare queen of public resentment — black, illiterate and producing babies at an alarming clip. (Blacks do account for a disproportionate number of welfare recipients, but the fact that most people on welfare are white — and are either children or elderly — has done little to dispel the stereotype).

If the poor should work, do jobs exist? In the 1930's, the answer was clear. They didn't. In the 1960's, the consensus was that

although jobs existed, barriers like discrimination and poor education could keep even the most determined poor person from getting a job.

Some of those roadblocks remain. And others, such as the shortage of affordable day care and the lack of health care benefits with minimum-wage jobs, have arisen, too.

Giving Credit

"There are jobs available, but there are a lot of issues that prevent women from taking those jobs," said William Grinker, a New York City Human Resources Commissioner in the Koch administration.

Mr. Mead says there is no evidence that

women who leave welfare and then reapply do so because they lacked day care or health benefits. The public seems to agree.

There is evidence that Americans are more willing to provide aid to the working poor, though. Consider the earned income tax credit, which aids almost 14 million families who are poor but who make too much to qualify for welfare. The tax credit costs the Federal treasury \$22 billion, a figure that mimics Federal spending on Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

"Yet that went through Congress with nary a peep," Mr. Katz said (although Republicans have since discussed scaling back the credit). "To me that is a fantastic illustration that money is not the real issue here."

The real issue, then, may be behavior. The deserving poor do not have babies out of

Driving the welfare debate are desires to change behavior and to emphasize a new message.

wedlock. They are not mired in poverty, waiting for a handout.

"When people speak of the undeserving poor, they are frequently thinking of those whose behavior seems disreputable to us, those people who share desperate behaviors, who don't take the alleged opportunities that exist," said the author Jonathan Kozol, who has researched the religious lives of poor children in the South Bronx. "But I've found that even seemingly irrational behavior is ultimately attributable to the fact that people know they are economically superfluous. They did not create the joblessness that engulfs them, and in that respect, they are blameless."

He argues that the issue should cut deeper than behavior. "The ultimate question is a theological one: What does any human being deserve?" he said. "The Bible tells us that a person's humanity is enough for our compassion."

What welfare revision really seeks to do, Mr. Grinker said, is alter the message, created in the 1960's and 1970's, that welfare is an acceptable way of life, or even an entitlement.

"For 15 or 20 years that was the message, and it began to get reversed in the 1980's," he said. "Now it's getting reversed with a vengeance."

Not So Media Savvy

Newt Tests TV and Flunks the Press

By ADAM CLYMER

FOR all the animosity between officials and reporters, they still regularly come together in a ritual that at least holds the promise of conveying information from the Government to its people. The ritual is the daily news briefing, at the State Department and the White House. The Senate gave these up long ago, but until this year they were held at the House of Representatives, too.

But the House briefings are suddenly no more, and the death of the Speaker's news conference reflects how much Capitol Hill has changed in the age of Newt.

Newt Gingrich, the Speaker of the House, killed the news conferences, but not because he despises the press and wants nothing to do with them. For all of his occasional denunciations of reporters as liberals, editorial writers as socialists, or questions as dumb, there are hardly any prominent Washington figures who answer most questions as readily, and often as thoughtfully, as he does.

What happened was, instead, a case of Gingrich overreach.

Going back at least as long as Sam Rayburn in the 1950's, Speakers held brief daily news conferences, both about the business of the House itself and about national issues. For whenever the Speaker's party did not hold the White House, as was the case for some of the years of Mr. Rayburn, John W. McCormack, Carl Albert, Tip O'Neill, Jim Wright and Tom Foley, the Speaker was at least constitutionally the highest-ranking member of the opposition.

The Perils of Success

Mr. Gingrich holds that stance, too, and is mighty proud of it. Yet, paradoxically, he abandoned the device that had given his predecessors a regular opportunity to speak for the institution, to argue civilly that the reporting of some particular issue was simplistic, or to explain patiently that the House was not the British Parliament, committed to following the party leader in all matters.

The previous Speakers' news conferences had been low-key affairs, with television cameras excluded and reporters bunched around the Speaker's desk haphazardly. But Mr. Gingrich has different ideas, and because he wanted television exposure he opened the briefings up. He got what he wanted, and more.

The news conferences became confrontations. Reporters who wanted to get on television saw their chance to bait Washington's most newsworthy target — demanding to know, for example, why he would not apologize to all American women for what his mother apparently called Hillary Rodham Clinton, or seeking to prosecute his ethics case in sound bites.

That sort of badgering occurred less in the past, when there were no cameras. Because the questioning was not televised, it didn't seem to matter. And as a result, it did not go on day after day. Even the White House, hardly as skilled as Mr. Gingrich in media manipulation, knows better than to open its briefings



In more receptive days, last Jan. 17, Newt Gingrich held a well-attended news conference.

Gingrich doesn't shun reporters. But he does overreach. So there are no more Speaker's briefings.

up to cameras all the time.

But last spring's daily confrontations were a televised embarrassment. So Mr. Gingrich pulled the plug. His aides explained that various other avenues of press access were being explored, but that pith-helmeted expedition has never been heard from.

These days, Mr. Gingrich does give some interviews, holds occasional news conferences on particular topics and sometimes answers questions on the fly. But the effect is uneven.

In a regular appearance, most of the questions that ought to be asked would develop out of daily events — one committee's split over student loans, or a threatened rebellion on water pollution. Others would challenge seeming inconsistencies, like the Republican

Party's on-again, off-again support for the line-item veto and limits on lobbyists. To be sure, only a minority of the questions would be textbook examples of thoughtful, policy-oriented journalism. More would be in the nature of "Can you avoid a budget train wreck?" or "Does the delay of a week in scheduling the widget bill mean that the Republican Revolution is in trouble?" But for those, a simple "yes" or "no" is an adequate response — and often useful in shaming reporters to move on.

If the Speaker does not want to be seen under fire on personal or ethics questions, he could just keep the cameras out and rely on his ability to discuss serious matters thoughtfully. Or he could turn the whole job over to Dick Armey of Texas, the majority leader, whose partisan tongue is even sharper than Mr. Gingrich's but whose non-legislative life is duller.

Decisions, Decisions

Obviously it's up to Mr. Gingrich to decide how he wants to deal with the public and how much a part of that interchange he wants to conduct through the press. But with a fall agenda more fateful than was even imaginable in most past Congresses, it might even help the Republicans to provide a regular forum for their account of what is going on.

Stand Fast Or Pander: What to Do?

Continued from page 1

how to get elected," said Michael K. Deaver, the longtime Reagan adviser. "Reagan never worried about how he'd get elected. He'd let other people do that. And there wasn't any of us who could talk him out of the three or four things he stood for."

Positions Under Pressure

Mr. Reagan's success spurred George Bush to appropriate those principles for himself. When Mr. Bush became Mr. Reagan's running mate in 1980, he jettisoned many of his long-held moderate stands.

But when Vice President Bush ran for President again, in 1988, there were signs of the flexibility of principle that would eventually contribute to his image, as measured by public opinion polls, as lacking in core convictions — an image that contributed to his defeat in 1992. Mr. Bush's aides still regret that in 1987, in a desperate play for votes in New Hampshire, he spoke at a dinner in honor of the late William Loeb, the publisher of the Manchester Union Leader who in the previous election had denounced him as a "spoon-fed little rich kid" who was "unfit to be President."

In that race, Mr. Bush edged out Mr. Dole because he was more willing to give voters what they wanted. Mr. Dole was crippled in New Hampshire by his refusal to sign a pledge against raising taxes. Mr. Bush signed it, won the primary, won the Presidency and raised taxes anyway. This year Mr. Dole signed the pledge on the eve of his announcement tour. Despite a dare last weekend from a rival, Senator Phil Gramm — who is becoming more passionate about abortion — he resisted signing an anti-abortion pledge.

But the candidates may find that the cranky public has less tolerance for such gimmicks. And as majority leader, Mr. Dole faces the added burdens of being a politician who has built his career on forging compromises, and who, as the front runner, cannot afford to alienate voters he would need in November.

"You get immense pressure on a candidate," said Robert Teeter, who ran Mr. Bush's drive in 1992. "You have to try to pick and choose your way through issues in the primaries and not hurt yourself with the general election constituencies. Every campaign sits around and worries about it."

Yet it is possible for a candidate to win primaries even if he stakes out some positions that are fundamentally at odds with his party. Though former Senator Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts ridiculed him in the primaries as a "pander bear," Mr. Clinton survived the Democratic primaries even though he bucked organized labor by supporting the North American Free Trade Agreement and favored the death penalty.

In 1996 the big question among voters may be not what issues the candidates stand for, but how long they will stand for them. As Mr. Bennett put it: "I think Bob Dole is an enormously impressive man. When he's being Bob Dole."

Ideas & Trends

Reluctant Conscripts in The March of Technology

By STEVE LOHR

AFTER resisting for years, Robert Post finally succumbed to electronic mail.

Mr. Post, a curator of technology at the Smithsonian Institution's Museum of American History and a fellow at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, had long watched with amused detachment as E-mail became first fashionable and then pervasive in academic circles. But more recently, he felt the peer pressure to join the E-mail community.

"I was made to feel out of it because I didn't have an E-mail address," Mr. Post said. "Then, earlier this year, I was sort of good-naturedly told that I had to get one."

If Mr. Post was a reluctant conscript in the forced march of technology, he has plenty of company these days. With banks merging and their branches closing, customers have little choice but to deal with automated-

A man without an E-mail address says that he was told he had to get one.

teller machines, because the ranks of human tellers have been winnowed to near extinction.

And with Microsoft's introduction of Windows 95 last month, there was a flood of phone calls from thousands of befuddled customers, suggesting that not everyone is finding the path to computing's new world a smooth one.

The promise of technology is that it is a liberating force, giving people more freedom, more choice and more free time. Yet technology often seems to be just another form of tyranny or just a new strain of consumerism. It is demanding, it forces people to learn new skills and jargon, and it takes time and money.

Is this really progress and, if so, is it worth the cost?

Many intellectuals have their doubts.

In "Rebels Against the Future: The Luddites and

Their War on the Industrial Revolution," the author, Kirkpatrick Sale, warns against the concentration of power in the hands of the people who control information.

In "The End of Work," Jeremy Rifkin, an economist, sees the danger of social unrest, as a huge and growing class of technological have-nots becomes increasingly separated from an elite core of affluent knowledge workers.

Technopoly

In "Silicon Snake Oil: Second Thoughts on the Information Highway," Clifford Stoll, an Internet pioneer, worries about the quality of the time spent on computer networks.

"You lead a much more shallow life online than you do in the real world," he says.

Neil Postman, a professor at New York University, asserts that we live in a "technopoly," a society in which all forms of cultural life are subordinate to technology. It cannot be stopped, he says, but technology can be guided by public debate and policy adjustments.

Every significant technology, according to Mr. Postman, should be subjected to three crucial questions:

What problem is it going to solve?
Whose problem is it?
Will solving the problem create other problems that we can anticipate?

Mr. Postman points to cases in which public debate has brought change.

For instance, the United States abandoned its supersonic transport initiative in the 1960's, after debate in Congress, because, Mr. Postman says, "we decided that getting from New York to Los Angeles in three hours instead of six was not a major benefit that would affect many Americans."

So far, though, computers have not gotten their fair share of scrutiny, according to Mr. Postman. For example, he says, the decision to put computers in schools has gone largely unquestioned, even though there is little evidence that computers improve children's problem-solving skills.

While the march of technology may look daunting to many, others are quick to point out that it is neither a blind march nor a forced one. Consumers, in other



As computers become more and more pervasive, no one can ignore them.

words, have a lot of say in determining technology's winners and losers.

Paul Saffo, a director of the Institute for the Future in Menlo Park, Calif., points out that consumers rejected inventions like quadraphonic sound and the 1980's version of electronic newspapers, called "videotext." But they gladly adapted to the complex technology of the automobile, which requires training, financing and fuel-finding efforts, because they saw the benefits as outweighing the costs in time, trouble and money.

When Mr. Saffo looks at emerging technologies, he sees more of a slow crawl than a heedless dash. Home banking, electronic airline ticketing and interactive television, he says, will all take a lot longer than some technophiles predict.

Still, he concedes that once most people accept a technology, like bank ATM's, the rest of the populace has little choice but to follow.

"The minority is forced to follow the majority into the next era of technology," Mr. Saffo said. "But the good news is that the majority doesn't move into the future very quickly."

Drag Racing

Historians bring a more playful perspective to technology's relentless advance. They argue that the motive force behind technology is not utility but a deep-

seated enthusiasm for new products — especially in American society.

No one foresaw the impact or the utility of telephones, cars or television when they were first invented, says Mr. Post, the technology historian. But once people began to use them, they came to believe the products were invented for important reasons.

"Often, invention is the mother of necessity," he says.

Mr. Post, who has written a book titled "High Performance: The Culture and Technology of Drag Racing," says that inventors are mainly driven by their sheer love of pursuing high-tech frontiers.

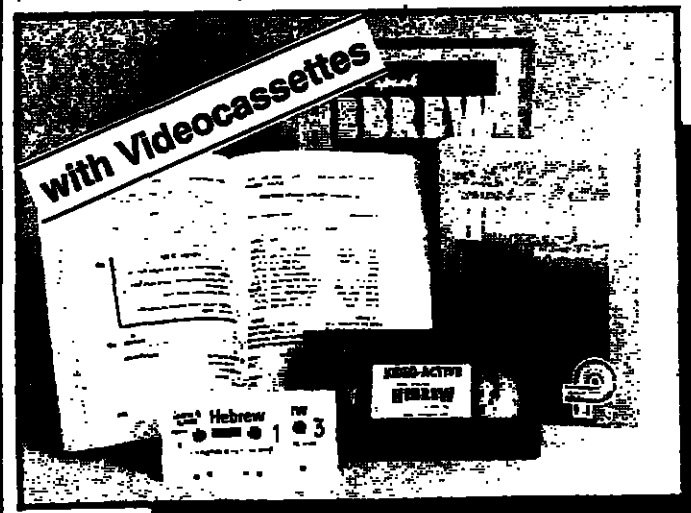
From space exploration to Star Wars, researchers talk a great deal about man's destiny and the social benefits of science.

But, he says, "I suspect the rhetoric has been mainly a way to seek funding for their technological enthusiasm."

An untroubled zeal for technology, he concludes, is very American. "Disillusioning as it may be for many intellectuals," he said, "there is a huge slice of the American populace for whom the march of technology has nothing but positive connotations."

Drag racers, studied by Mr. Post, reach speeds of more than 300 miles per hour, over a quarter-mile track, in less than five seconds. That, he says, is "a stunning accomplishment and perfectly useless."

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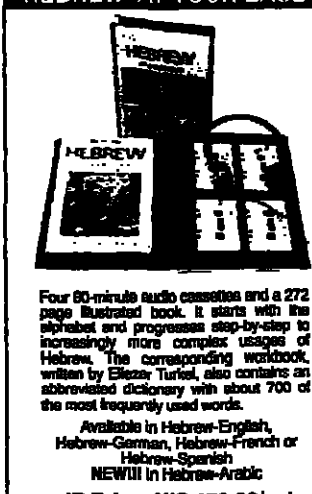
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The Mayors Reach for City Schools

Continued from page 1

the Mayor called for a study of the issue.

The formal powers given to Mr. Daley and sought by Mr. Giuliani are exceptions to the century-old norm of rigidly separating the duties of school boards and city governments, with the general aim of minimizing political and partisan influences on education. The vast majority of mayors around the country, like Mr. Riordan, have no formal authority over the public schools.

The exceptions, most of them in the Northeast, include Boston, where former Mayor Raymond Flynn a few years back succeeded in changing the school board from 13 elected members to 7 appointed by the mayor, and Baltimore, where the mayor appoints all school board members and where Mayor Kurt L. Schmoke has urged bringing in a private firm, Education Alternatives Inc., to run some schools. Mayor Daley in Chicago, given sweeping powers to appoint top school officials, put former aides in virtually all the positions.

In a few cities, including Newark and Paterson, N.J., and East St. Louis, Ill., the state has taken over struggling, largely poor school districts.

But whether they have formal powers or merely the bully pulpit and clout of their office, mayors increasingly are deciding that the problems of the public schools are too important to ignore.

Separation of Powers

Some public officials like Mr. Giuliani argue that the schools' problems are so acute that mayors must have broader authority. But many experts are skeptical, saying the logic of taking municipal and partisan politics out of schools is as least as valid now as it was a century ago, when the tradition of keeping the schools independent of city hall originated.

"One argument for merging again is that education itself has become political," said Michael Casserly, executive director of the Council of Great City Schools, which represents some 50 urban districts. "But I would contend that as political as education is, it's at least the politics of education, and not the politics of elections or the politics of city government or the politics of public works. I think there's a stronger role for mayors and corporations to play, but there has to be some place that is wholly dedicated to kids, not to city politics."

Given their limitations, most mayors' function more as advocates or facilitators than as prime agents in school management. But some have been able to make the case that a strict separation of school governance and municipal governance no longer is possible.

For example, Mayor Sharon Sayles Belton of Minneapolis has been an advocate both for neighborhood schools and for scatter-site housing. "She doesn't talk about community schools without linking it to integrated housing," said Mary Paddock, a spokeswoman for the Mayor.

Last week, Mayor Wellington Webb of Denver, who has consistently been involved in school issues, threw his support behind a proposed restructuring plan and tax increase for the local schools. He has also established a new cabinet position of education coordinator to help the city work with the schools.

"Yes, there's a definite separation of decision-making, control and budget, but the Mayor believes it's essential to form an alliance with the school board and superintendent, so they can work effectively together," said Amy Ling, a spokeswoman for Mr. Webb. "The Mayor feels that while it's important to invest in infrastructure like the airport or convention center, ultimately it's investment in our children that will lead to a stable, strong economy."

مكتبة الامم المتحدة

Hard Realities Roil Irvine Co.'s California Dream

By JAMES STERNGOLD

IRVINE, Calif. If there are two words that sum up this obsessively planned city of 120,000 in the heart of Orange County, they are symmetry and order.

In Woodbridge Village, the largest subdivision here, there is a central corridor of churches, shopping centers and low-rise office buildings with nearly identical manmade lakes on either side. Spreading out from their banks are similar wood-framed town houses, thickets of oleander and tract housing. Businesses, and homeowners, are strictly regulated so they do not upset the buffed color scheme. And in a city dedicated to healthy living, there is no cemetery.

This neatly packaged version of the California Dream, 50 miles south of Los Angeles, is the creation of the largest designer and developer of master-planned communities in America — the deceptively low-key Irvine Company and its secretive owner, Donald L. Bren. The privately held company is a sprawling behemoth that began as the Irvine family ranch in the 1880's. Its properties today sprout everything from the state's biggest producer of avocados to shopping malls, hotels, office towers and affluent towns like Newport Beach. And its influence is just as pervasive.

"Their fingerprints are on everything that happens here," said Louis Masotti, head of the real estate program at the University of California at Irvine's management school. But the Orange County Govern-

ment's bizarre bankruptcy last December, and then the voters' angry rejection of a tax increase that was supposed to clear up the mess, has turned this seemingly harmonious landscape into a complex, unruly battleground. And all this comes at a time when the county, once nearly all-white and affluent, is in the midst of deep demographic and economic changes of the sort that many residents came here to escape.

No one has more at stake in the outcome of the bankruptcy battle — and the social contours of the county's future — than the Irvine Company, which has the mixed fortune of owning a wonderful stretch of land that is concentrated in just one, troubled place. "Their future depends completely on the county's viability," said Mr. Masotti.

As a result, a company that has been compulsive about controlling its environment is now at the mercy of that environment. And a company that always saw its future in clear, bold strokes is now facing the sort of uncertainty its planners had tried to sweep away.

Drastic county budget cuts and the struggle by local and state officials to hammer out a financial rescue plan are producing big reductions in county services and thus a threat to property values. According to the rescue plan passed by the state Legislature in the last day of its session Friday, the county will have to make steep cuts in bus service and cut hundreds of jobs in order to divert funds to repay creditors.

And no matter how successful the plan, the county's troubles will persist for years. Already, it appears that the weak market and the lingering effects of the recession may have

forced the company to defer offering interests in some of its real estate holdings to the public.

Nevertheless, company executives continue to express confidence in their long-term prospects. "Is this going to hurt us in the long term?" asked Raymond L. Watson, who is the company's vice chairman and its original urban planner, as well as the former chairman of the Walt Disney Company. "I don't think so. But getting to the long term from where we are could be difficult."

To some extent, the Irvine Company is Orange County. It owns a sixth of the county's land, about 90 square miles stretching from the hills above the Pacific coast to the Cleveland National Forest, 22 miles to the northeast. Its developments are often praised for their quality and planning, and they are a big reason Orange County has enjoyed a reputation as a pleasant alternative to Los Angeles.

The Irvine Company leaves little to chance in any field of endeavor. The company is also a well-oiled political machine with an outsized influence over the election of everyone from town supervisors to the state's Governor — and perhaps the next President of the United States.

Mr. Bren is one of the national Republican Party's top financial contributors and he is the finance chairman for the presidential campaign of his close friend and former Marine buddy, Gov. Pete Wilson of California. Last year, Mr. Bren, his companies and his employees contributed more than \$210,000 to Governor Wilson's re-election campaign. When one of Mr. Bren's executives gets involved in a political battle, no one here doubts that Mr. Bren is calling the shots.

"Nothing happens at the company that he doesn't have his hands on, from the color of a door knob to the types of trees at Fashion Island," said Mr. Watson, referring to the town shopping mall that the company owns in Newport Beach.

During the lengthy and often acrimonious negotiations over the county's financial crisis, Mr. Bren's top political operative, Gary H. Hunt, has been a constant presence.

"We are vigorous in representing our own interests, wherever we see them," Mr. Watson said, adding, "That is what we are supposed to do. It's part of what we are."

The focus of all this influence, and the unusual challenges, is the elusive Mr. Bren, 63, a trim, well-tanned executive whose relationship with the Irvine Company began when he was a well-to-do home builder in Orange County in the 1960's and '70's. Mr. Bren, who declined to be interviewed for this article, constructed two developments for the company and then, in 1977, bought an interest in it from the Irvine family by resorting to what many criticized at the time as a political dirty trick.

He had teamed up with some wealthy investors, including the shopping center magnate A. Alfred Taubman, Henry Ford 2d, the late Milton Petrie, founder of Petrie Stores, and Herbert Allen Sr., a New York investment banker. Their group was competing with the Mobil Corporation for what was still known as the Irvine Ranch. The financial heft of Mobil, the giant oil company, gave it a big advantage.

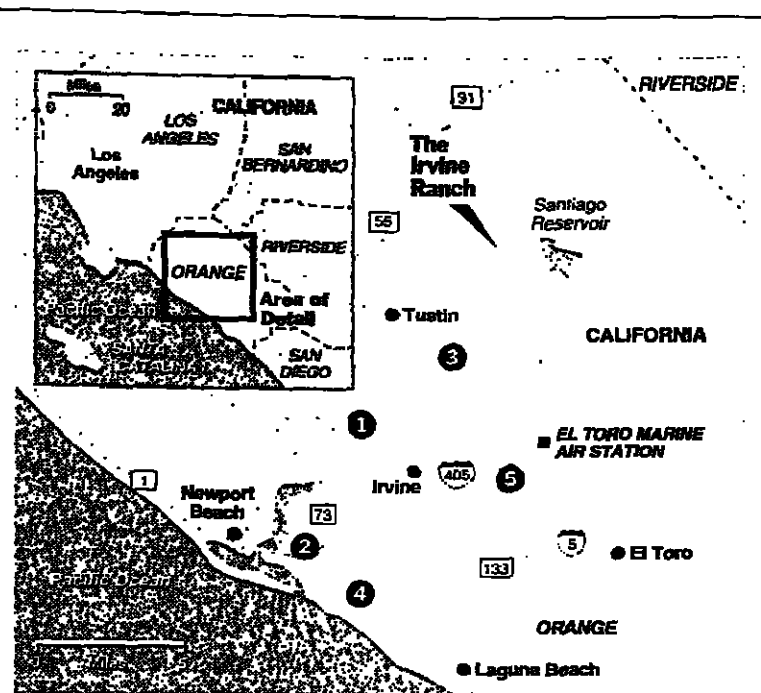
But suddenly ads appeared in major newspapers on May 4, 1977, from a previously unknown group called the Committee for Energy Resources. The ads chastised Mobil for throwing money away on real estate instead of drilling for more oil.

"Is Mobil Turning Its Back on America? During Our Energy Crisis?" asked the ads, which encouraged people to complain to Congress.

Mr. Bren soon confirmed reports disclosing that he had secretly helped finance the ads. Through Mr. Hunt, "I think that ad won us the deal," said one of the investors in the group. The group paid \$337.4 million for the ranch, just edging out a suddenly hesitant Mobil.

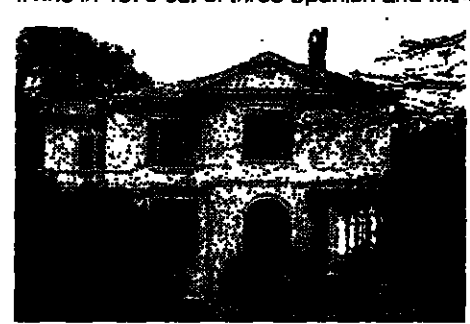
In 1983, when the investors decided to take their profits, Mr. Bren bought them out for \$518 million, a deal financed largely with bank debt. That gave Mr. Bren slightly more than 92 percent of the stock. Today, he is reportedly worth at least \$2 billion and the company is as politically active as ever.

Mr. Hunt is now an executive vice president at the company. He was a special assistant to Ronald Reagan



119 Years, and Building

The Irvine Company was founded as the Irvine Ranch by James Irvine in 1876 out of three Spanish and Mexican land grants.



Over the next two years, it plans to complete several projects that will add 2 million square feet to its holdings.

The New York Times

because of the county's troubles.

"This may cause him to rethink his plan entirely or to take a new look at other options," said James F. Wilson, an analyst who follows REITs for Montgomery Securities.

Still, the Irvine Company remains in fairly solid shape. Indeed, one of the more puzzling aspects of the county's bankruptcy, caused by the former treasurer's reckless losses of \$1.7 billion from a county investment fund, is that it is still far from clear what impact it is having on the area, a bustling region with an economy the size of Greece's.

The biggest problem has just been uncertainty — whether the decline in county services will cut into the area's high quality of life, whether residents will eventually suffer a big tax bite, whether the schools will be hurt. And that has translated into a big drop in home sales, which have fallen close to 30 percent this year countywide.

Nevertheless, the Irvine Company's high-quality projects have fared slightly better. Its latest residential project, called Newport Coast, which will eventually consist of 2,800 housing units, has already sold nearly 200 custom lots at an average cost of more than \$1 million.

But the company has still had to endure some belt-tightening. It is cutting staff sharply, from about 1,500 in the late 80's to about 200 today. In addition, while the company does not release financial data, its revenues have reportedly been flat the last three years, at about \$800 million.

One of the greatest challenges the company faces is the fact that the county had been going through profound changes even before the bankruptcy. Twenty years ago, the county was largely white and affluent, and many of its towns were still regarded as suburbs of Los Angeles. Today, 38 percent of its 2.6 million residents are ethnic minorities; Santa Ana, the county seat, is 73 percent Hispanic and the cities of Westminster and Garden Grove are home to about 110,000 Vietnamese.

The county has many pockets of great affluence, but its per capita income, \$25,022 in 1993, the latest year for which figures are available, was sixth in the state. Assessed property values per capita were 15th in the state in 1993 and the median price of a home has dropped since the bankruptcy, from \$220,178 last December to about \$190,000 last month.

About 200,000 Orange County residents are now living below the poverty line, a number that has been growing at about twice the rate of the overall population in recent years, according to Mark Baldassare, chairman of the University of California at Irvine's department of urban and regional planning.

"The image is really based on the economic character of just a handful of cities," said Mr. Baldassare.

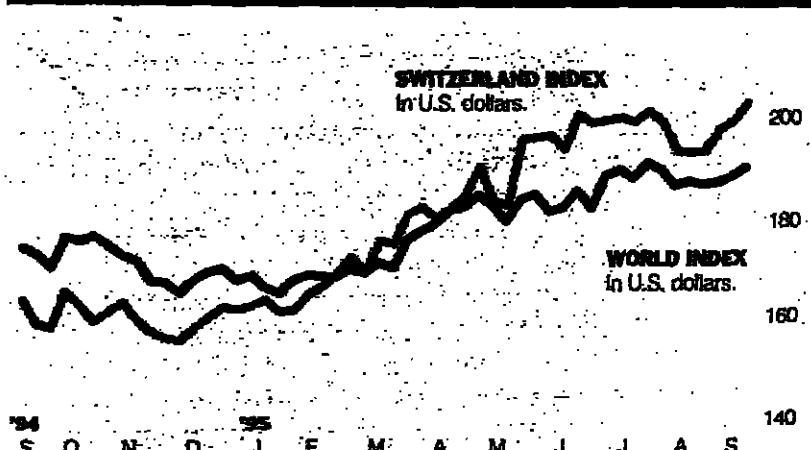
But perhaps the greatest contradictions lie in the county's political character. The area is heavily Republican and thinks of itself as libertarian. In reality, however, the residents have fought for environmental protection. Businesses face an extraordinary level of regulation. And taxes — in the form of a stream of special assessments to pay for neighborhood amenities and services — are among the highest in California.

"It's always struck me as remarkable that politically Orange County is seen as so conservative and, lo and behold, you have a master-planned city with high taxes," said Larry Agran, a former mayor of Irvine and himself a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1992. "There is a heavy degree of central planning of everything here, with more regulations on businesses than in most other places. But it is democratically imposed regulation. The people say they want it."

And the Irvine Company has wanted it. From the time it began to build cities on what had been dry, hilly grazing land, the company has looked at its vast holdings as a private preserve on which it would shape the future — and is still struggling to do so.

"What do you want to be thought of when you die? That's the view Don takes of his work," said Mr. Watson, who was trained in architecture. "He's an outstanding developer who believes in what he owns. This is his canvas. In a way, he's more of an architect than I am."

WORLD STOCK MARKETS



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Acquisitions World Index, a measure of stock market performance. The FT index is compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

Country	PERFORMANCE				IN U.S. DOLLARS				IN LOCAL CURR.			
	Index	% Chg.	Rank	% Chg.	Index	% Chg.	Rank	% Chg.	Index	% Chg.	Rank	% Chg.
Australia	190.51	2.4	6	11.0	15	3.94	166.76	13.3				
Austria	178.71	-1.0	24	-2.2	23	1.29	138.07	-6.2				
Belgium	188.99	0.6	18	12.2	12	3.66	142.71	7.9				
Brazil	158.91	3.7	3	-2.6	24	1.52	278.35	9.4				
Britain	223.78	0.4	19	14.9	9	4.05	213.64	15.7				
Canada	144.06	-2.2	25	11.3	14	2.60	142.63	8.5				
Denmark	282.10	0.0	21	12.0	13	1.46	220.90	6.0				
Finland	275.49	2.6	5	48.1	1	1.25	255.50	38.1				
France	173.17	0.6	17	5.9	19	3.14	139.23	1.7				
Germany	161.09	-1.0	15	12.4	11	1.91	124.58	7.9				
Hong Kong	383.00	4.3	2	17.4	6	3.70	380.44	17.4				
Ireland	246.77	2.9	4	19.7	5	3.44	219.72	16.8				
Italy	80.02	1.5	12	8.3	18	1.58	96.26	5.5				
Japan	144.77	-0.6	23	-7.8	25	0.79	94.86	-4.2				
Malaysia	498.75	1.2	13	4.0	21	1.68	484.78	2.8				
Mexico	1,176.84	-2.8	26	-16.9	26	1.72	8,074.01	5.9				
Netherlands	252.23	1.2	14	16.3	7	3.40	192.04	11.8				
New Zealand	79.57	2.1	8	12.9	10	4.46	64.18	9.8				
Norway	232.50	-0.3	22	9.1	16	2.07	204.66	4.6				
Singapore	368.22	0.8	16	-1.3	22	1.69	244.78	-2.3				
South Africa	353.28	1.5	11	4.9	20	4.09	283.72	-5.4				
Spain	152.42	0.2	20	15.5	8	3.80	146.53	11.4				
Sweden	311.65	2.4	7	34.8	2	1.82	329.44	29.5				
Switzerland	205.53	1.9	10	24.4	4	1.73	153.99	14.9				
Thailand	168.90	5.4	1	6.8	17	2.47	165.36	7.3				
United States	238.39	1.9	9	27.0	3	2.46	238.39	27.0				

COMPOSITE INDICES			
Europe	193.96	0.9	14.8
Pacific Basin	156.06	-0.0	-5.0
Europe/Pacific	171.76	0.4	3.4
World	192.98	1.0	11.5

Sources: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close. © 1995 The Financial Times Ltd., Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's.

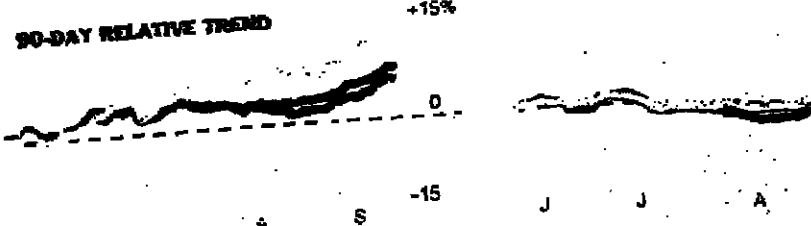
CURRENCIES

Country	Currency	Friday	Last Friday	Week % Chg.	Year Ago
Japan	Yen per U.S. \$	104.15	99.63	+4.54	98.95
Germany	Marks per U.S. \$	1.4885	1.4787	+0.80	1.5445
Canada	Canadian \$ per U.S. \$	1.3685	1.3378	+2.15	1.3503
Britain	U.S. \$ per British pound	1.5503	1.5508	-0.03	1.5790

Sources: Bloomberg Finance 31 Markets; exchange rates as of Friday's New York close.

Sept. 11-15: Blue Chips Surge, Bond Yields Sink

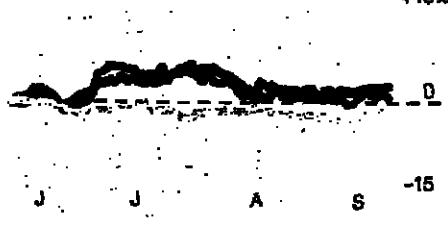
PRICES			
DOMESTIC EQUITIES			
Broad market	Up 1.86%	583.35	
S & P 500 index	Up 2.06%	4,797.57	
Blue chips	Down 0.04%	314.29	
Dow 30 industrials			
Small capitalization			
Russell 2000 index			
DOMESTIC BONDS			
Treasuries	Up 0.89%	183.33	
Pyan Labs. Total Return			
Municipals	Up 0.46%	116.22	
Bond Buyer index			
Corporates	Up 0.71%	779.93	
Merrill Lynch Master index			



AROUND THE WORLD

European stocks	Up 0.88%	193.96
F.T.-Actuaries Europe		
Asian stocks	Down 0.01%	156.06
F.T.-Actuaries Pacific Basin		
Gold	Up 0.83%	\$386.50
New York cash price		

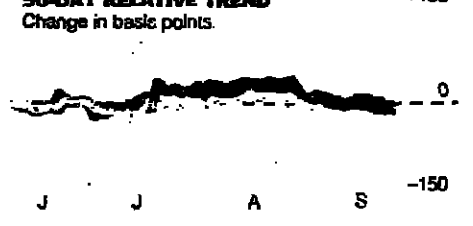
Foreign stock indexes are shown in dollar terms.



YIELDS

BONDS			
Long bonds	6.43%		
30-year Treasuries	Down 9 basis pts.		
Short bonds	5.72%		
2-year Treasuries	Down 9 basis pts.		
Municipals	6.00%		
Bond Buyer index	Down 3 basis pts.		

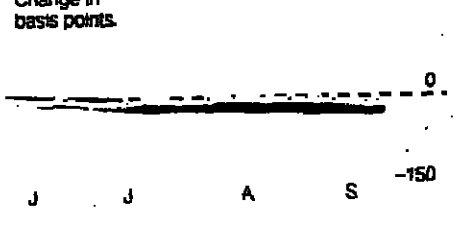
100 basis points = 1 percentage point



OTHER INVESTMENTS

Money market funds	5.24%		
Bank fund average	Down 1 basis pt.		
Bank C.D.'s	5.14%		
1-year small savers	Unchanged		
Stocks	2.40%		
S & P 500 dividend yield	Down 4 b.p.		

Change in basis points.



Sources: Bank Rate Monitor; Bloomberg Financial Markets, The Bond Buyer, Datastream; Goldman, Sachs, IBC's Money Fund Report; Merrill Lynch, Standard & Poor's, Ryan Labs

The New York Times

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The C.I.A. Security Blanket

Aldrich Ames, the American spy turned Soviet mole, left a lot of wreckage behind him at the Central Intelligence Agency. But in one way he may have done the agency a favor. The Ames case, the worst betrayal of American intelligence secrets in the cold war, exposed the futility of the C.I.A.'s lie-detector testing. Three times while he was hip-deep in betrayal and deceit, Mr. Ames passed a polygraph test.

John Deutch, the new Director of Central Intelligence, has ordered the agency to reconsider its elaborate polygraph program, a system that has grown over the years into an Orwellian nightmare. The review is another promising sign that Mr. Deutch is prepared to reform his troubled agency, an organization sometimes immobilized by its obsession with secrecy.

It should not have taken the Ames case and the arrival of Mr. Deutch to spur a reassessment of the lie-detector system. At best, polygraph tests are a crude, demeaning guide to veracity. They can be defeated by the subject or be misinterpreted by the examiner. Mr. Ames outfoxed one test by following the simple advice of his Soviet handlers, who told him to get a good night's sleep before the exam and to be nice to the examiner.

Despite the well-known flaws of the polygraph, the C.I.A. smugly relied on the examinations as the best way to preserve secrets and intimidate employees. No Government agency depends more on the tests, administrators them more often or has devoted more effort to extending their use to other agencies.

Other intelligence agencies follow the C.I.A. model, but the Defense Department uses the tests more sparingly. The State Department considers

the tests repugnant and rarely employs them, and then only on a voluntary basis. That is largely thanks to George Shultz, who blocked a C.I.A.-inspired plan to make random testing mandatory throughout the Government when he was Secretary of State in the Reagan Administration.

At the C.I.A., all job applicants must pass a polygraph test that seeks to determine whether they are secretly working for a foreign government and whether they have a history of drug or alcohol abuse or criminal behavior. Once hired, employees are expected to pass a lie-detector test at regular intervals, theoretically every five years, that focuses on whether they are compromising secrets.

This regimen allowed the C.I.A. to embrace the illusion, punctured by the Ames case, that its secrets were secure as long as the staff passed the tests. Besides being ineffective in catching spies, the tests also contributed to a culture of intimidation and distrust that stifled innovative thinking. Agency efforts to hire and promote top talent were thwarted by the specter of the tests and a backlog in giving them that bogged down the hiring process.

The C.I.A. cannot be cavalier about maintaining secrets or determining the trustworthiness of its employees, but it must be more discriminating in how it accomplishes that. Careful background checks are a better guide to the reliability of prospective employees than polygraph tests. Periodic examination of the financial affairs of employees who handle the most sensitive information is a more productive way to detect if someone may be selling secrets.

Mr. Deutch is asking the right questions. The right answer is to get rid of the polygraph tests. They offer nothing but a false sense of security.

Medicare Misfire

House Speaker Newt Gingrich promised a bold, market-driven reform of Medicare. He has not delivered. The policy he outlined on Friday would shut off effective competition and possibly damage health care for the elderly. Perhaps the Senate leadership plan, to be released this week, will do better.

Medicare is, as Mr. Gingrich never ceases to charge, excessively costly and out of date, having adopted few of the innovative techniques that are used in the private sector to improve quality and lower costs. Mr. Gingrich would solve these problems by, in effect, giving the elderly the option of using a Government voucher to buy private coverage. But the proposal reneges on introducing market competition when it denies health plans the right to rebate part of the voucher to enrollees. Private plans would have no incentive to cut premiums below the amount of the voucher.

Apparently the House refused to allow rebates lest it be attacked for driving the elderly into private managed care for their financial survival. Its voucher, from the sketchy outline provided, seems tied to the cost of the existing Medicare program, and thus offers little hope of reining in costs. Medicare costs will almost surely rise faster than the proposal expects.

Mr. Gingrich would allow private plans to compete for customers by offering them attractive benefits, like coverage of drugs and eyeglasses. But that kind of competition invites plans to tailor benefits to attract healthy retirees who would not be costly to cover, leaving the chronically ill to sign up with the managed care and Government programs. The plan further invites cherry-picking of healthy

retirees by offering the option of choosing a Government-paid catastrophic policy along with a tax-free savings account to cover part of the deductible. These accounts would attract only healthy individuals who would expect to have some of the deductible left over at the end of the year.

The plan Mr. Gingrich released owes more to his concern about saving \$270 billion to balance the budget than it does to his concern about reforming Medicare. The specific measures appear unlikely to generate anything close to the required savings. The only safeguard is a provision that would have the Government automatically cut fees for doctors and hospitals participating in the Government program if costs rose faster than budgeted. But therein lies a big problem. The cuts will almost certainly need to be huge, because doctors have historically offset price cuts by pushing additional tests and procedures on their patients. Big cuts could drive many doctors to flee the program, dragging their patients with them into private care. If that is Mr. Gingrich's goal, it needs to be spelled out and justified.

Whether the Republican leaders can offset these problems will depend in part on details that they have not yet released. For example, they might adjust the voucher amount paid to a private plan according to the health status of its enrollees — introducing enormous complexity reminiscent of the Clinton Administration's aborted plan. Or they might regulate the value of the voucher to keep the cost of private plans from rising precipitously. But the information released so far provides no such mechanisms. The House plan is more an attack on Medicare than a cure.

The New Face of British Labor

Tony Blair, the popular new leader of Britain's Labor Party, has gone through a summer of testing, facing his first real criticisms within the party since taking over in July 1994. The internal arguments are sure to continue through the Labor Party Conference in October. But the summer's battles seem to have had a salutary effect, clarifying Mr. Blair's vision for a modernized party without noticeably denting his commanding lead in the opinion polls. Labor still holds a better than 30-point margin over the ruling Conservatives, with the next election due no later than April 1997.

America's ties with Britain will remain strong no matter which party wins the next British election. But it is encouraging to see Britain's main opposition party reviving so smartly after more than 15 years of eclipse by Margaret Thatcher and then John Major. Labor's comeback makes British democracy stronger.

Mr. Blair understood that a party whose main constituency was the old industrial working class and whose central policy was government ownership had little hope of putting together electoral majorities in the years to come. In fact, Labor had evolved considerably by the time Mr. Blair appeared on the scene, but the backward-looking image deliberately cultivated by party stalwarts was frightening away many potential voters.

So the new leader quickly went after symbolic targets, like Labor's longstanding official commitment to nationalization and the large role played by labor unions in party governance. He has also pledged to retain some of the Conservatives' labor law reforms and, most recently, has resisted com-

mitting the party to any specific increase in the minimum wage. On most of these issues he has prevailed, though he will likely have to ratify his victories at next month's party conference. Mr. Blair has also tried to woo more conservative voters by talking tough on crime.

These initiatives drew predictable protests from party traditionalists, who complain that Mr. Blair has made Labor indistinguishable from the Conservatives. But Labor's distinct identity is hardly in doubt. Its strong support for European integration clearly sets it apart from the bickering and equivocal Conservatives. Labor is also more flexible in its positions on Northern Ireland and arms control. Mr. Blair has held his ground knowing that his changes enjoy broad public support.

In the past few days, a fresh round of squabbling has broken out in Labor ranks, following the leak of an internal party memorandum on political organization and strategy. Though the memorandum touches on most of the ongoing policy disputes, the fighting is fueled by personal rivalries about who is or who is not in Mr. Blair's inner circle. Those are the kind of fights that break out when a party has a realistic prospect of taking power.

In responding to his party critics this summer, Mr. Blair has shown firmness and spontaneity, helping to dispel an earlier image of overcautiousness to please that earned him the derisive nickname Tony Blur. The next election is still a long way off and much could happen to erode Labor's commanding lead. But in 14 months, Mr. Blair has done an impressive revitalization job.

U.S. Consumers Gain From Mexico Trade Pact

To the Editor:

Bob Herbert's "Nafta's Bubble Bursts" (column, Sept. 11) plunges into the pitfall of one-sided storytelling in which he calls politicians (like Bill Clinton) and companies (like Mattel) to task.

It is true that on the one hand, job loss in the United States is a critical issue. Certainly we would not want to hear the horrible "sucking sound" that protectionist rhetoric like Ross Perot's predicted.

On that, Mr. Herbert is right to raise concern, though it truly is too early to judge: it is not clear how many of the layoffs related to the North American Free Trade Agreement that he mentions would have been lost to Mexico with or without the trade agreement.

On the other hand, the concerns of United States consumers are often left out. If companies like Mattel choose to manufacture products in Mexico and sell them in the United States, that means United States consumers can purchase the same quality products at a lower price.

This, in economic terms, is called a gain in efficiency, and it raises the standard of living for these United States consumers. It is harder to measure this kind of gain, and the benefits do not have the same kind of resounding ring to them as the (surely inflated) figure Mr. Herbert mentions of one million lost jobs.

But the impact of lower prices on a wide range of products will benefit nearly all 250 million United States consumers. Aren't we better off for being able to choose to buy Japanese or Mexican-made cars? This is not a statement on the relative value of cars or other products manufactured here, or in Mexico or Japan.

It simply means that consumers should be given the opportunity to

buy the highest quality products at the lowest possible price, and that the trade agreement should increase their range of choices.

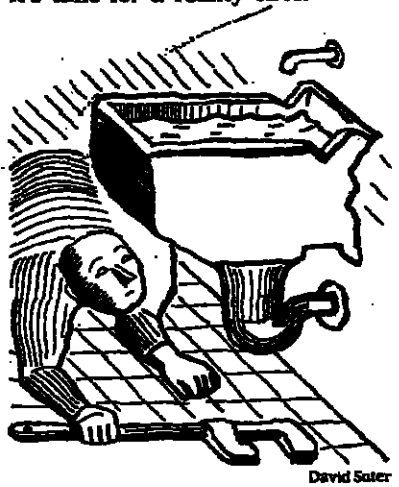
I am neither vehemently anti-Nafta nor pro-Nafta, but I do think the broad interests of United States consumers as a whole deserve at least as much attention as the unfortunate (but fewer) individuals whose employers decide they can manufacture products more efficiently in Mexico.

ALEC IAN GERSBERG
Assistant Professor, Urban Policy
New School for Social Research
New York, Sept. 11, 1995

Real Job Losses

To the Editor:

With all due respect to Senator Richard G. Lugar (letter, Sept. 8), it's time for a reality check on the



North American Free Trade Agreement and United States job loss. Senator Lugar's claim that exports to Mexico surged by almost 22 percent in 1994 is countered by the fact

that imports also surged — by 24 percent. A candidate for President should understand that if exports lead to jobs, imports lead to job losses.

Large, persistent trade deficits represent a significant drag on real gross domestic product growth and contribute to the loss of jobs and declining real wages. At a rate of 17,000 jobs at stake for every \$1 billion in trade, the \$8.6 billion merchandise trade deficit with Mexico in the first six months of 1995 cost the United States 146,000 jobs.

Meanwhile, Cimer-WEFA, the economic forecasting service, estimates that maquiladora jobs south of the border will rise by more than 130,000 by the end of 1996.

Direct competition with Mexican workers, whose pay in dollar terms decreased by 50 percent after devaluation, continues to place downward pressure on United States wages. In June 1995, real average hourly earnings for production workers fell to \$11.96 compared with \$13.05 in 1986.

The Mexican economy contracted 10.5 percent in the second quarter of this year. A boom for Mexico's biggest industrial exporters has not brought benefits to the majority of Mexican workers — and has a negative impact on job security and wages of United States workers.

Many promises of benefits from the North American Free Trade Agreement were made to secure its adoption by Congress. Eighteen months under the agreement have been disappointing. Any attempts to expand the trade agreement should proceed with caution and should include an objective study of the long-term effects of this flawed agreement.

GREGORY WOODHEAD
Economist, A.F.L.-C.I.O. Task Force on Trade
Washington, Sept. 12, 1995

Rock-and-Roll Shrine Honors a Music Myth

To the Editor:

Cleveland's claim to be host to the Rock-and-Roll Hall of Fame is based largely on the myth that the disk jockey Alan Freed coined the term "rock-and-roll."

While Freed played a significant role in promoting the music and was somewhat a martyr to the cause, the term "rock-and-roll" preceded his notoriety by two decades.

Ella Fitzgerald first sang the lyric in the 1937 song "Rock It for Me," with the Chick Webb Orchestra:

"It's true that once upon a time
The opera was the thing,
But today the rage is rhythm and rhyme,
So, won't you satisfy my soul with
The rock 'n' roll."

The lyric was repeated later by Louis Jordan, the man whom many regard as the father of rock-and-roll. The Jordan song "Rock Doc" ends with the lyric "rock 'n' roll."

Alan Freed's role in promoting rock-and-roll was beautifully depicted in the movie "American Hot Wax." But his significance was no more important than a handful of other disk jockeys and promoters like Dewey Phillips in Memphis and Alta Hays in Houston. They had the courage to play Elvis Presley records when the industry was turning up its nose.

It's unfortunate that pioneers like Freed, Phillips and Hays will never again play a significant role in bringing new and indigenous music to the airwaves. Today's radio station managers and program directors are afraid to play anything that hasn't already been declared "safe" or "hot" by the trade journals. If a disk jockey or programmer tried to squeeze in a song by a new Elvis Presley, he'd be fired before his shift was over.

H. SCOTT PROSTERMAN
Memphis, Sept. 12, 1995
The writer is a disk jockey programmer specializing in jazz and rock.

Chinese Didn't Derail Women's Meeting

To the Editor:

Re your Sept. 13 editorial on the forum of nongovernmental organizations in Hsinchu, China:

We were thrilled by the diversity of faces, colors, clothing, languages, crafts and music of 25,000 activist women from every continent. We were intellectually stimulated by the analyses in workshops and plenary sessions of everything from the global economy to local survival strategies.

We were inspired by stories of struggles that ordinary women are waging to secure their survival, dignity and rights.

We watched group after group demonstrate against abuses suffered by women somewhere — images that will remind us to carry this spirit of democracy wherever we go. Nothing the Chinese Government did overshadowed any of this. Thousands of Chinese university and high school volunteers were stationed everywhere to help us find our way. Young and impressionable, they could not help being affected by the

democratic look and feel of the forum; several told me this was the case. They are China's next generation of leaders.

Had the forum been as repressed as you made it out to be, your newspaper and others would have been swamped with protests. Our presence indicates we were never "silenced."

GLORIA RUDOLF
Brattleboro, Vt., Sept. 14, 1995
The writer teaches anthropology and development studies at the School for International Training.

Sex Abuse Survivors

To the Editor:

I went to China to share with women from the 180 countries represented what we have learned about child sexual abuse and incest. In our workshop we tried to encourage others to set up programs in their countries that would help heal the millions of women (and men) who have been crippled by this violence.

Women from India, Norway, Kenya and Russia were so moved by the presentations that they reported on conditions at home under which incest survivors must cope and on the lack of support from anyone, no less their governments, for the abused. It took six years after I helped to initiate the first conference in Japan before support groups were available to women who once had no choice but to remain silent with their pain or turn to frequently unsympathetic therapists. No matter which society, we find abuse of children.

The barrier of language is frustrating. I was not able to share information with Chinese women of my generation. But I found younger women, conversant in English, willing to listen and convey what they were learning. They volunteered the idea that the problems of sexual abuse should be on their social policy agenda. That would be miraculous.

DANA RAPHAEL
Westport, Conn., Sept. 13, 1995
The writer is a medical anthropologist.

Like the Dutch, Let Us Think Again About Death and Suffering

To the Editor:

My uncle Joe died last month of a cancer that tortured him for the last three years of his life. What saddened me most about this period was his not having access to the type of humane care now associated with the hospice movement.

While my uncle's tenacity prevented him from considering suicide, many do seek relief that only the end of life seems to bring. Many more would use hospice services if they were available on the same basis as curative medical care.

To qualify for the Medicare hospice benefit, Uncle Joe, who was 79, would have had to relinquish all curative care, be within 90 days of death and have a caregiver at home.

A confirmed bachelor, Uncle Joe listened to his physician, who gave him repeated doses of chemotherapy and the hope that the disease would be cured. In the end he developed complications from chemotherapy resulting in a monthlong hospital stay and agonizing death.

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters must include writer's name, address and telephone number. We regret that we cannot acknowledge unpublished letters. Those selected may be shortened for space reasons. Fax letters to (212) 556-3622 or send to Letters to the Editor, The New York Times, 229 West 43d Street, New York, N.Y. 10036.

The Dutch (news article, Sept. 11) offer an alternative, as does Dr. Jack Kevorkian in Michigan, yet at considerable ethical and psychic cost. Assisted suicide is neither necessary nor desirable when hospice services are initiated. Maintaining hope, independence and comfort is a far better choice than suicide or an agonizing death.

What is required for the dying is to have access to hospice counseling early in the process. I cannot help believe that the benefit of extended hospice services would accrue to both the dying and those who pay for the extensive hospital services used at the end of many American lives.

EDWARD J. HALLORAN
Chapel Hill, N.C., Sept. 12, 1995
The writer is a registered nurse.

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Doctor's Ethical Duty

To the Editor:

The Royal Dutch Medical Association, in revising rules on physician-assisted euthanasia (news article, Sept. 11), has moved closer to the thousands of American doctors who believe it is morally and ethically wrong to administer death to patients.

The American Medical Association believes inducing death is incompatible with the physician's role as healer. Our Council on Ethical and Judicial Affairs has developed policies prohibiting physician participation in euthanasia and assisted suicide.

The Dutch experience proves there is great risk in legalizing euthanasia. It is difficult to confirm a patient's terminal status and assess mental competence to make the decision to die. Vulnerable, critically ill patients can be coerced subtly.

Physicians must do better at discussing end-of-life treatment decisions with patients and at providing optimal comfort care and emotional support in the final stages of disease. "Unacceptable suffering" cannot serve as a ground for euthanasia because in almost all cases severe pain can be relieved. We urge our Dutch colleagues to keep at the forefront in preserving patient rights and the integrity of the medical profession.

CHARLES W. FLOWS, M.D.
Chairman, Council on Ethical & Judicial Affairs, American Medical Assn.
Chicago, Sept. 12, 1995

Power to the Pedagogues

By Christopher Winship and Mark Ratner

In the Sept. 18 issue of U.S. News & World Report, the nation's best colleges and universities are graded like baseball teams. This year, a new category, "top in teaching," has been added to the traditional ones. Why did this take so long? Why is teaching treated as an appendix in evaluating educational institutions?

Competition in recruitment is ubiquitous among these institutions. Admissions offices have developed into sophisticated marketing organizations in their efforts to attract promising minority members and other qualified students. Athletic departments have created scouting programs that rival those of professional teams. Deans' offices and department chairmen and chairwomen have strategies to hire renowned researchers.

So much of university life is now inevitably — and not inappropriately — market-driven. But there is no extensive competitive market for high-quality college teaching. Stanford does not attempt to lure away Yale's most talented instructors; nor does Berkeley try to steal the best teachers from Brandeis.

This is surprising. In the 1990's, universities have faced a 40 percent decrease in the number of 18-year-olds. With rises in tuition far outstripping increases in family incomes, there has been an even sharper percentage drop in the number of students who can pay full tuition. Universities have responded with increased salesmanship, recruitment and packaging of their programs.

But they have not responded by hiring the best teachers to attract the best students.

The cynical explanation sees abandonment of instruction, which should be higher education's first priority. Critics argue that universities put far too much emphasis on research and sports, to the detriment of their teaching mission.

This explanation is inadequate. Not only do universities generally not compete for top teachers, but small liberal arts colleges, where research and sports are of considerably less importance, do not either. Amherst and Reed, Grinnell and Carleton, generally do not try to steal one another's top teachers.

Competition for top teachers does not exist even among elite private schools. Exeter and Andover do not customarily raid each other's faculties.

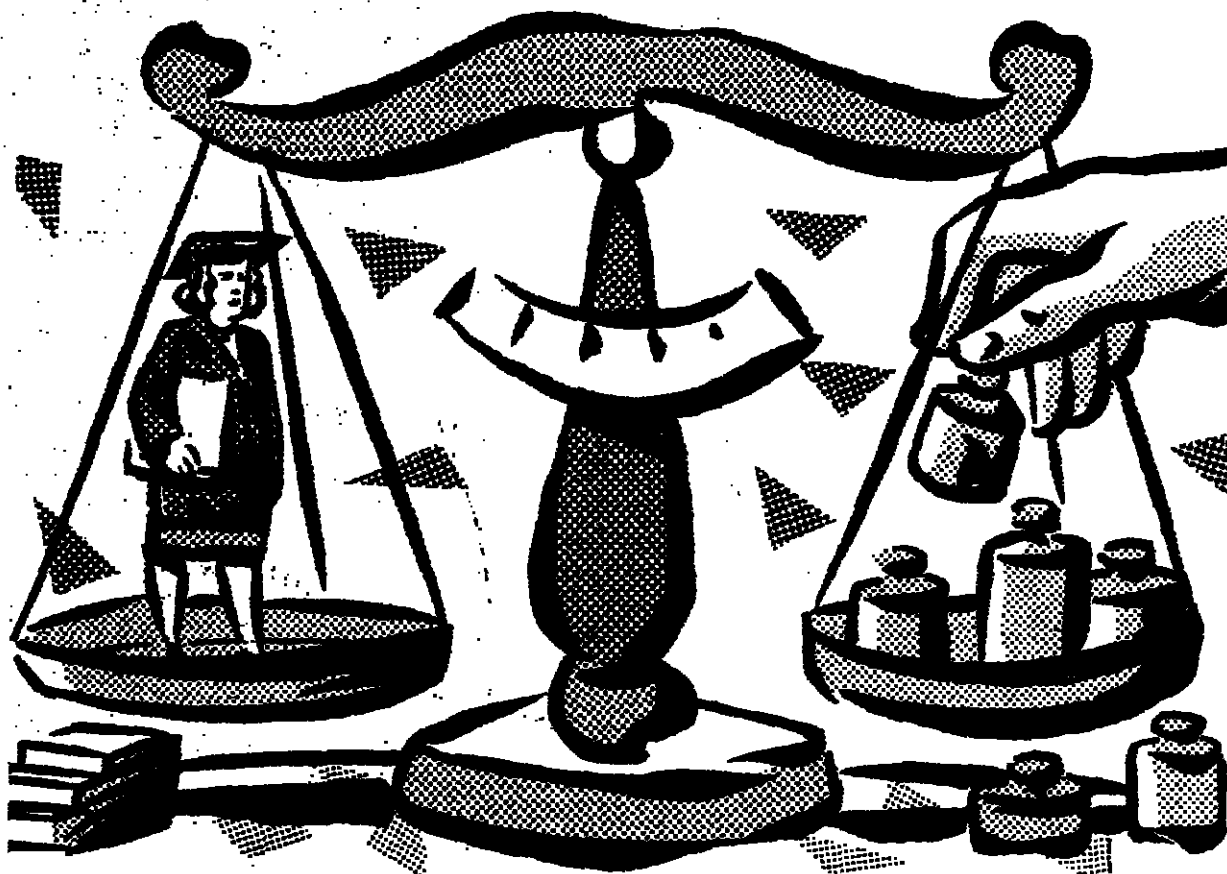
Since education is the top priority at these institutions, why then isn't there competition to hire Mr. Chips?

Why is there no competitive market for high-quality teaching at any level of education?

One obvious issue that prevents a hiring war for superior instructors is the measurement question. Hardly any one agrees wholly on what is meant by good teaching. Are good teachers those who entertain — or those from whom one learns most?

Educators disagree on whether the goal of good teaching is impart-

Christopher Winship is professor of sociology at Harvard. Mark Ratner is professor of chemistry at Northwestern University.



ing knowledge or developing analytic skills. They argue over where the difficult issues of the development of values and maturity fit in.

How then should teaching be assessed? Many faculty members fear, with some justification, that student evaluations are little more than popularity contests. At Dartmouth, a school with a strong reputation for teaching (ranked first by U.S. News & World Report in the category of "top national universities"), the fac-

Colleges are market-driven. To gain respect, great teachers have to learn to compete.

ulty refuses to permit student evaluations precisely for this reason.

Alternatively, faculty members might evaluate each other's teaching. It won't work, if only because it would take too much time, and who would take the public use of such judgments to compare departments, or even colleges or universities?

If a faculty member, a department or a school does a considerably better job of teaching than others, how can this be proved, particularly to prospective students and their parents?

It is easy to evaluate the performances of colleges and universities in other ways. Winning teams and research breakthroughs help generate more student applications, greater alumni financial support and outside financing for research. Great teaching, alas, rarely proves equally newsworthy. It is thus not surprising that universities stress other activities to the neglect of teaching.

Research universities have made attempts to emphasize the quality of instruction. Teaching prizes have

proliferated on many campuses. Teaching is now often taken into account in salary decisions. During tenure and promotion reviews, faculty members are often required to provide course materials as part of their folder, and student evaluations are commonly examined. Nevertheless, the overall impact of these changes appears to be modest.

Teaching can be given a renewed priority, but not by cheapening it by making teachers marketable — that is, by making them celebrities, the way quarterbacks are.

Outside agencies, possibly sponsored by the Carnegie Commission for Higher Education, might evaluate the quality of instruction at various institutions and thus enable prospective students to compare programs. This in turn would create an incentive for universities to hire the best instructors.

By introducing teaching as a factor in ranking schools, U.S. News & World Report could help to create that incentive. The other criteria it uses are easily quantifiable measures like the size of a school's endowments, test scores and graduation rates. The teaching ratings are purely based on reputation — not surprising, given the difficulties of determining just who is a good teacher and why.

Further, these ratings, the magazine said, are based on "an unusually strong commitment to undergraduate teaching" — commitment, not accomplishment. The grade is for effort, not for results.

U.S. News uses separate rankings for research universities and liberal arts colleges. But we should be able to compare the quality of teaching at, say, the University of Washington and at Williams.

One road to improved teaching might be for universities to establish special funds for hiring star teachers, as many institutions have done for hiring minority faculty members.

Another possibility, used by many law and business schools where teaching is often given high priority, would be to have faculty candidates try out for a year so that their teaching could be evaluated directly.

But this is not enough. In American society, in which illegitimacy, violence, cynicism and cult membership are at shockingly high levels among the young, our colleges and universities seem to have abandoned their moral, intellectual and socializing roles. Recall that Harvard and William and Mary, among others, began as schools of theology.

To the degree that our institutions are conduits not only for knowledge but also for the highest values and ethics of the society, Mr. Chips is — must be — a critical part of their mission. But if a competitive market developed for great teachers, would it be a market for Mr. Chips — or, more likely, for great classroom entertainers?

The problem is not simply that traditional values have been misplaced by today's faculty members and administrators. Rather, the problem is that universities, while adjusting to economic changes, have become far too market-driven. Admittedly, creating competition for Mr. Chips would be no simple matter. But it is imperative.

Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

Colin Powell Rules!

WASHINGTON

O.K., I've got the book now. Naturally, I flipped to the back to see how it ends. Does he? Is he? Will she let him? Foiled again. It ends with a list of "Colin Powell's Rules."

Uh-oh. This sounded strict. I had read in Newsweek that General Powell felt that "the army family is a worthy model for a dissolute American society." The idea that he might send the country to boot camp brings out the Private Benjamin in me. ("Excuse me — is this the only color this uniform comes in?")

I perused the general's maxims on page 613 — the 13 habits of a highly effective person:

1. It ain't as bad as you think. It will look better in the morning.
2. Get mad, then get over it.
3. Avoid having your ego so close to your position that when your position falls, your ego goes with it.
4. It can be done!
5. Be careful what you choose. You may get it.
6. Don't let adverse facts stand in the way of a good decision.
7. You can't make someone else's choices. You shouldn't let someone else make yours.
8. Check small things.
9. Share credit.
10. Remain calm. Be kind.

Proverbs of a President?

11. Have a vision. Be demanding.
12. Don't take counsel of your fears or naysayers.
13. Perpetual optimism is a force multiplier.

I wasn't quite sure what a force multiplier was. I just felt relieved that the rules didn't have to do with push-ups and saluting.

But then I began to wonder, do we really want a President who talks like a Nike ad, an embroidered pillow and Robert Fulghum?

General Powell likes to boast that "I understand the battlefield, and I know what winning takes."

But are we craving the sort of leader who needs to write himself a note to "Have a vision?"

Not to worry, the general is a work in progress. He has time to revise his rules in the light of reality, as follows:

1. It is as bad as you think. It won't look better in the morning.

The press rises with the sun. There will be many mornings when you look above the fold, right side, A1, and you will want to dive back under the covers. The media may fawn at first, but soon they'll have plenty of follow-up questions. Then, as General Powell says, "break off, apply power, gain altitude or eject."

2. Get mad, cut it off and kill it, then get over it.

3. Avoid having your position so close to your ego that when your ego falls, your position goes with it.

In politics, people who lose are often right. Your wounded feelings matter less than the justice of your cause. And in Washington, you need an ego as big as the Ritz-Carlton just to keep up.

4. It can be done, maybe!

There are few illusions more damaging than untempered idealism. Government is not a form of motivational speaking. All the upbeat blather in the world won't lay a glove on the forces arrayed against you. When the going gets rough, exclamation points lose their magic!

5. Be careful what you do not choose. You may get it.

The truth of this adage is demonstrated by the entire history of the Clinton Administration.

6. Let adverse facts stand in the way of a good decision.

A decision that ignores unpleasant realities is a bad decision. The Powell-Clinton policy on Bosnia is a good example.

7. You can make someone else's choices. You shouldn't let someone else make yours.

You are responsible for the actions of subordinates. Otherwise you wind up defending Ira Magaziner.

8. Check big things. Jimmy Carter was a small-things man, and look what happened. God is not always in the details.

9. Share credit.

Of course. But take credit for sharing the credit.

10. Remain calm always. Be kind sometimes.

11. Have a vision before the election.

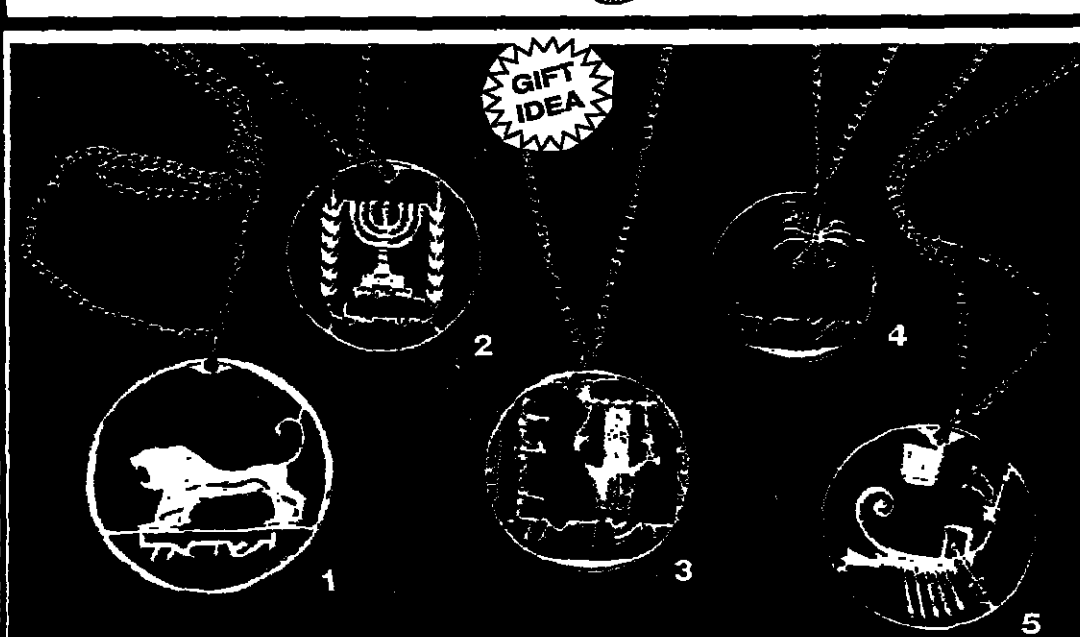
12. Always take counsel of your fears and naysayers.

It's the yeasayers you should worry about.

13. Perpetual optimism is annoying.

It is a sign that you are not paying attention.

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Foreign Affairs

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Long Live Saddam Hussein

WASHINGTON

Which Arab leader would you say is most likely to remain in power longest? Well, if you were to answer that question on the basis of which Arab leader had the most colleagues rooting for him, the answer would be obvious: it would not be Hosni Mubarak, or King Hussein, or Yasir Arafat. It would be Saddam Hussein. That's right. Saddam Hussein may look as if he's in trouble, and he could fall tomorrow or in the year 2010. But whenever he goes, be sure of one thing: more leaders in the Middle East will put on a black tie and mourn his passing than for any of his colleagues.

This would be funny if it weren't so tragic: while the Clinton Administration is working and praying for Saddam's demise, most of his fellow rulers like him just the way he is. That is, strong enough to hold Iraq together, weak enough not to threaten his neighbors, embargoed enough not to be able to sell too much oil and caged enough not to be a factor in inter-Arab politics. That is a Saddam that serves a lot of people's interests, and the Clinton Administration is fooling itself if it thinks otherwise.

To understand why, you first have to understand who are the likely alternatives to Saddam. Check the list. Thomas Jefferson's name is not on it. If Saddam is toppled, there are three likely alternatives. The first is no one. In this scenario the Iraqi state disintegrates into Kurdish, Shiite and Sunni pieces after Saddam's grip is broken. The second scenario is that Saddam will be succeeded by Saddam, that is by another relative or army general

They like him just the way he is.

equally nasty, because, some argue, the only way to keep Iraq united is by repressing Iraqis at home and threatening their neighbors abroad. The third possibility, the one the U.S. is counting on, is that a "nice" Saddam will come along — some enlightened Iraqi authoritarian, strong enough to hold Iraq together but nice enough to accommodate himself to the Arab-Israeli peace process, regional stability and Western economic interests.

But it is precisely a nice Saddam who would be most threatening to his neighbors. Just go down the list. The last thing Syria wants is a "nice" pro-American Iraq that is ready to join the Arab-Israeli peace process ahead of Syria. An Iraq ready to reconcile with Israel only puts more pressure on Damascus to do the same. Syria's strategic nightmare is an Iraq that is on good terms with Israel and Jordan, leaving Syria isolated.

Egypt? The Egyptians still have not adjusted to the fact that they have lost their monopoly as the only Arabs with close ties to Israel, the U.S. and the Arab world. President Mubarak is already enraged at Jordan for usurping this unique Egyptian role. (Mr. Mubarak and King Hussein are barely on speaking terms.) The last thing Egypt wants is a nice Iraq that returns to the Arab fold and joins Jordan

as a competitor with Cairo for primacy in the Arab world.

Saudi Arabia? Get out your calculator. A nice Iraq is an Iraq no longer under U.N. embargo and that Iraq would immediately export one to two million barrels of oil a day, which the world market doesn't need. Oil experts say the day Iraq re-enters the world market, the price of oil drops from \$18 to \$14 a barrel. Saudi Arabia pumps eight million barrels a day. So a nice Saddam costs the Saudis \$32 million a day, or \$11.7 billion a year. Sorry, not worth it. Especially since opposing an evil Saddam gives Saudi Arabia an important role in U.S. military planning. As long as Saddam is a threat, the Saudis know that Washington will never put Saudi Arabia's human rights abuses under a spotlight.

Iran too loves Saddam. The last thing Iran wants is a nice Iraq, which then leaves Iran as the only bad boy in the neighborhood, whose misbehavior everyone will then focus upon.

And then there is something all these Middle East leaders have in common. They hate change: the disintegration of Iraq terrifies all of them because it raises the prospect of independent, irredentist Shiite, Sunni and Kurdish enclaves, each trying to connect with disaffected brethren in other countries. And democracy in Iraq, as unlikely as that might be, is equally terrifying because the last thing Syria, Iran and Saudi Arabia want is a democratic Iraq that would highlight their own lack of glasnost.

Yes, Saddam is an evil man, but he's got so many people praying for him each night he could still end up going to heaven.

Abuse-case defendant acquitted on appeal for lack of proof

LAW REPORT

ASHER FELIX LANDAU

In the Supreme Court, sitting as a Court of Criminal Appeals, before the President, Justice Aharon Barak, and Justices Goren and Dalia Dorner, in the matter of Immanuel Bar-Zion, appellant, versus the State of Israel, respondent (Cr.A. 5341/94).

BAR-ZION approached the male complainant, who was then nearly 16, at a bus stop, and a relationship developed between them. He visited the youth at the boarding school where he studied, representing himself as the former's uncle. He would then take him for drives in his car in the course of which he performed on him indecent acts.

The relationship was unusual. Bar-Zion apparently liked the youth intensely, and it was proved that the latter sometimes communicated on his own initiative with Bar-Zion at his place of work.

The youth also testified that Bar-Zion told him he would stop their meetings if he so wished, but he did not accept this offer. He also admitted he did not resist Bar-Zion's kisses, and he also sometimes kissed the latter on the cheek. Bar-Zion also gave him presents, including money, from time to time.

Bar-Zion was convicted in the Haifa District Court, under sections 348(a) and (b) of the Penal Law of 1977 (before their later amendment) of sexual attacks on the complainant, and of abusing a

minor under section 368(C) of the Law, and was sentenced to a long prison term. He then appealed to the Supreme Court.

JUSTICE BACH delivered the judgment of the court. Counsel for the state in the appeal had conceded, he said, that there was insufficient basis for Bar-Zion's conviction of sexual assaults. He used no force, and the complainant did not object. However, he asked the court to change that conviction to one of performing indecent acts "before a person under 16" as was then laid down in section 349 of the above Law.

Bar-Zion's counsel had opposed this request on the ground that the expression in the Law "before a person" referred to indecent exposure in the presence of another person, and not to indecent acts on the body of another person with no one else present, as in this case.

Counsel for the state had replied that the court should construe the phrase "before a person" widely, so as to include acts on a person's body. It was unreasonable, he submitted, that indecent acts in a person's presence should be an offense, while such acts on that person's body, which did not amount to sexual assaults, should be permitted.

It was true, Justice Bach continued, that under section 216 of the Criminal Procedure Law (Consolidated Version) of 1982, an appeal court was empowered to convict the accused of an offense other than the one for which he was convicted if proved by the facts and if the accused has been given a reasonable opportunity to defend himself.

In this case, however, he held it would not be proper to accede to the state's request. Most of the District Court's proceedings dealt with the question of the alleged "sexual assaults": Had the youth resisted the defendant's approaches? If not, had his consent been obtained by coercion or enticements?

THE QUESTION of consent, however, had no relevance whatsoever to the new offense under section 349 suggested by the prosecution. It was difficult to be convinced that Bar-Zion had "a reasonable opportunity" of defending himself against such a charge. Presumably his defense would have been conducted quite differently had he been charged originally under section 349 as it was at the time.

It was also to be remembered that the Law had since been amended, and a clear distinction

drawn between indecent acts "before a person" and "on a person's body." At Bar-Zion's trial, the section was still unclear, but there was no longer any public interest in interpreting the earlier section which had since been repealed. That was a further reason for rejecting the prosecution's application.

Bar-Zion's conviction of abusing a minor under section 368(C) of the Penal Law could also not stand, he continued. As in every other context, the court had to have a sense of proportion and act with common sense. There was a wide difference between Bar-Zion's conduct and abuse of a minor. Abuse implied other elements usually associated with violence and cruelty, which did not feature in the present case.

Counsel for the state had submitted that Bar-Zion's conduct could have caused the complainant harm. That could be so, and it was an element to be taken into account on the question of sentence where a defendant was convicted of abusing a minor. It could not be regarded, however, as an element in the crime itself.

FOR THE above reasons the appeal was allowed, and Bar-Zion's convictions and sentence were set aside. Moshe Gilad appeared for Bar-Zion, and Yehoshua Lemberger, assistant state attorney, appeared for the state.

The judgment was given on September 10, 1995.

British Jews laud message of peace

DOUGLAS DAVIS
LONDON

ment, their obstructions, their disrespect of the army and police who, with remarkable endurance, implement the policy approved by the Knesset - all are unacceptable to the majority of Israelis.

But, he stressed "they are not representative of all the settlers and they are also not representatives of all religious Jews in Israel."

Underlining the point, Raviv stated "as clearly and as categorically as possible, that the government of Israel is not in conflict with religious Jewry."

"We are keen to listen to every viewpoint on how best to advance peace, but not how to stop the peace negotiations," he said. "That would mean missing a rare and historic opportunity."

One rabbi acknowledged later that within the environment of traditional Orthodox leaders in other parts of the world, Raviv's remarks might have been interpreted as "fighting talk" and might have inspired "the verbal equivalent of a riot."

"But among British rabbis, there is a natural tendency to avoid confrontation and rancor," the rabbi said. "Besides, his arguments were well reasoned and his conclusions were well-taken."

Indeed, it is not that British religious leaders are more polite, less pious or simply uncaring about the fate of Judea and Samaria.

Compromise and conciliation, at least on matters that do not

touch on Halacha, are woven into the fabric of their collective instincts, no less than that of the wider society which nurtures and nourishes them.

Not are there significant grassroots pressures from their Orthodox congregants, who still form the majority of Britain's affiliated Jewish community.

True, there have been protests by some prominent Orthodox Jews, notably business magnates Cyril Stein and Conrad Morris, who last month organized an hour-long vigil outside the Israeli Embassy.

But that demonstration - the only occasion which British Jews have had to publicly express their concern over the peace process - attracted fewer than one hundred participants.

Perhaps it is the delayed shock engendered by last July's car bombing of the Israeli Embassy and Jewish community offices in London, combined with the burgeoning threat of Islamic radicalism, that diverted attention from the controversies raging in Israel and focused instead on communal solidarity and unity.

More likely, it is the natural British reserve and the instinctive distaste for uncompromising religious sentiments which echo from Israel and the US that have muted the public debate within British Orthodox Jewry.

Whatever the reasons, this community has demonstrated - so far, at least - that it has no stomach for the internecine wars that have scarred American Jewish communities and made the debate across the Atlantic so divisive and destructive.

Atheist's son pitches the power of prayer

THE lion and the lamb will lie down together before the members of the Murray family reconcile.

Three of them are running American Atheists Inc., dedicated to keeping the separation of church and state as vast as possible. The fourth is devoted to restoring prayer in public schools.

Madelyn Murray O'Hair won't even talk about her elder son, William J. Murray. "I don't give a damn," she says, adding "I'm not speaking about him."

Murray acknowledges that "the situation with my mother and my older daughter is kind of unnatural. Usually, time heals these kinds of things."

It was on Murray's behalf that O'Hair filed the lawsuit that ended with the 1993 Supreme Court decision removing prayer from public schools. He was 17.

The case made his mother not just famous but notorious; a situation she has obviously relished. But her son went into a brisk decline.

Within two years of the ruling, Murray was married, a father, an adulterer, and on the lam. His father-in-law filed a criminal complaint against him for improperly enticing his teenage daughter. This led to an arrest warrant, which Murray and his mother fought.

When Murray's daughter Rob-

in was a year old, in 1966, he gave her to his mother. He was broke, divorced, with no prospects; his ex-wife, Susan, didn't want the child either. He felt he had no choice. "I slammed the door in the face of my accusing conscience," he wrote in his autobiography.

Murray hit bottom early and stayed there for a long time. By 1980, he was an alcoholic.

One night he had a dream that ended with the arrival of an angel. "I was praying right then," he says. "The angel touched an open Bible."

Since then, he's devoted his life to trying to undo his mother's deed. From his home base in Dallas, Murray puts out the modest *William J. Murray Report* ("A Newsletter of Revival and Conservative Thought for the 1990s") and gives frequent speeches.

Murray recently presented House Speaker Newt Gingrich with piles of petitions asking for restoration of school prayer. Gingrich and Murray are ideological soul mates: The speaker provided a blurb for Murray's new book, *Let Us Pray*, calling it "a definitive work on this issue."

At the least, it's an opening salvo. Murray has written four books for Christian publishers. His autobiography, *My Life Without God*, sold more than 350,000 paperback copies, according to Harvest House, with



William Murray, a supporter of prayer in schools, no longer speaks to his mother, who won a Supreme Court case banning school prayer. (Washington Post/Dudley Brooks)

almost no help from the secular press.

Let Us Pray: A Plea for Prayer in Our Schools is designed to be different. Rushed through to publication by the mainstream house of William Morrow, it begins with a slice of autobiography, moves on to a mini-history of its 202 pages of large type on its central argument. The publisher says the first printing is 50,000 copies.

"The concept," Murray says, "has become this: If I'm the state, and I permit you to have religious expression, then I am condoning that religious expression and therefore it is a violation of the separation of church and state."

It's not that simple, says Leslie Harris, public-policy director for

the liberal lobbying group People for the American Way.

"The problem with these anecdotes is that they almost always involve a right you already have under the Constitution that someone has wrongly told you you don't have. The child not allowed to pray quietly with his Bible, the two students not allowed to discuss prayer - if these are true, they point up the need for better education of school administrators, not a constitutional amendment."

What's more, Harris says, when students are prevented from exercising their rights, "it's principally the fault of the far-right disinformation campaign, which pushes the message that God has been shut out of the classroom."

(Washington Post)

Tears from Siberia's 'blue eye'

EARTHLY CONCERNS
D'VORA BEN SHAUL

AN infamous ecological disaster is taking place, one so far along that nothing can ever correct its depredations.

Now, one can only speak in terms of trying to save a small fragment of what was once the fourth-largest body of fresh water on the face of the earth.

The Aral Sea in Siberia until 1962 covered 64,500 square kilometers. Fed by the Amu Darya river system, it received 50 cubic kilometers of fresh water every year. In these waters more than 3,000 fishermen plied their trade bringing in 50,000 tons of some 20 species of edible fish. In addition, 1.1 million muskrat furs were produced each year and sold to furriers.

The lake was the vital economic center for more than 20 villages and cooperatives along its banks. Inhabitants of the area were envied for their high standard of living.

Today, according to official statistics published by the Russian government in Moscow and reported in *Worldwatch* and in *The Amicus Journal*, the lake covers less than 30,000 sq. km. and receives only two to three cubic kilometers of fresh water from the rivers.

Even this water is highly pol-

luted with agricultural runoff water containing vast amounts of insecticides, herbicides and chemical fertilizers.

Since 1982 there has been no commercial fishing. The fish are too scarce to make it worthwhile. Muskrat farming has also ceased. The inhabitants of the area no longer enjoy an enviable standard of living; the entire area has been reduced to a barter economy, with each family trying to eke out a living from vegetable plots and scant fishing.

The former vast lake has now split into three barely connected smaller lakes and the areas that were formerly under water are bleached salt pans littered with the skeletons of fishing trawlers and the bleached bones of cattle that have died there from eating the poisoned and salt-laden vegetation. Villagers who once boarded their boats at the pier at the end of the town's main street now must travel more than 40 kilometers to reach the edge of the water.

The trouble started in 1958 when the Soviet government discovered that the highlands above

the lake were ideal for growing cotton, a cash crop that brought in hard currency on the international market. Huge canals were constructed and the water of the Aral Sea was siphoned off to irrigate cotton fields in Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan. By 1962 the shoreline of the lake had already receded more than 10 kilometers.

In the mid-1980s, with the beginning of glasnost, the entire horror story was thrown open to the scrutiny not only of the Soviet peoples but the entire world. Prestigious papers such as *The Washington Post*, *The Times* of London and *The Daily Telegraph* reported huge dust storms that swept the now dry and salty river beds and spread salts and pesticide residues throughout the area. A high rise in cancer of the esophagus, liver disease and general infant mortality was reported.

But in the 10 years since glasnost the damage has progressed. The difference is that now it is no longer a secret.

But the fact remains that the governments of the independent states surrounding the lake are still turning a blind eye to what is happening to what was once known as "the blue eye of Siberia."

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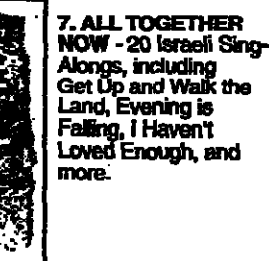
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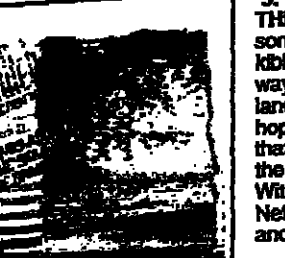
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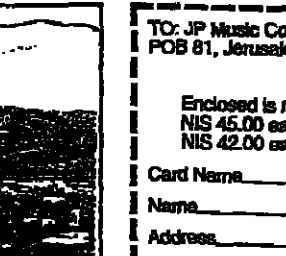
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THE PEOPLE YOU CAN TALK TO

Hap J'lem whips Safed

ARYEH DEAN COHEN and CHARLES HARRIS

IT WAS homecoming night in Jerusalem last night.

Former Jerusalemite Adi Gordon, Pini Levy, Norris Coleman and Doron Shefa celebrated their return to Hapoel Jerusalem with a 101-73 rout of Hapoel Safed in Malha.

At first, it looked like former Jerusalem star Ezer Hazan, now with Safed, was going to do all the celebrating. Behind Hazan's 15 first-half points and his fine defense on Coleman, Safed grabbed an early lead and held on for a 41-38 halftime advantage.

Jerusalem, sponsored by a local car company this year, had lots of trouble getting its offensive engine started thanks largely to over-zealous refereeing (25 first-half fouls on the two clubs) and their own sloppiness.

Jerusalem's Billy Thompson picked up his third foul with just under five minutes gone in the first half, crippling Jerusalem underneath. The capital side also threw away eight balls, but stayed in the game thanks to clutch 4-for-8 foul shooting by Papi Tugman.

The second half was an entirely different game, from the moment that Shefa took a pass from Gordon and cut the lead to a point. A three-point shot by Shefa put Jerusalem ahead 43-41 and they never trailed again.

Gutty Safed stayed with Jerusalem, much to their credit, as the battle of the Gershons - Jerusalem's Pini vs. Safed's Moshe - intensified. When Safed's Melvin Neubern (16 points) drove for a score, Safed was down just 57-55 with just over 11 minutes to play.

That's when Gordon and Coleman put on a shooting barrage that wiped out Safed. The two scored eight points each - Gordon hitting two 3-pointers - to key a 21-6 run that steamrollered Safed. When the dust cleared, Jerusalem led 78-61, and the game was essentially over.

Thompson led the defense with three blocks, while Pini Levy had a fine game off the bench, hitting three 3-pointers and scoring 14 points overall.

Gordon led Jerusalem with 23 points, while Coleman added 20 and held Hazan scoreless in the

second half. Cedric Glover had 14 for Safed and Nir Richlis 13.

Mac R Lezion 88, Hap Tel Aviv 84 Hapoel Tel Aviv remained winless after the first two weeks of the season as Maccabi Roshon Lezion took advantage of a sluggish start by its opponents and registered a home victory.

Rishon coach Roni Bosani had to be pleased with the final results and was probably just a happy after the first 20 minutes as the club carried an 11-point lead to the locker room 41-29.

Brian Oliver led all scorers with 38 points and Radeenko Dovosh poured in 35 in a losing effort and James Terry added 13.

Tel Aviv once again turned in a Jackyly and Hyde performance which was evident by the two different halves. After trailing by as many as 13 points in the first half, Tel Aviv used a pressure defense to cut the deficit to seven points several times.

Bnei Herzliya 102, Mac Ramat Gan 81 After trailing by two points at halftime (49-47), Bnei Herzliya used a home court advantage and mauled Maccabi Ramat Gan in the second period.

David Thirskill missed the game as the foreign player was hospitalized. It didn't seem to bother coach Muli Katzurin's squad as John Hudson and Amir Katz each scored 21 points.

Petey Semmons scored 22 points and David Henderson added 19 in a losing effort.

Hap Elit 94, Mac Jerusalem 88 Lawrence Funderburke poured in 23 points and Ari Rosenberg added 15 as Hapoel Elit turned back a visiting Maccabi Jerusalem.

Lamont Struthers was the offensive star of the evening, totaling 27 points while Uri Cohen Minz had 15 and Dawson wound up with 10.

The Hapoel Gali Elyon-Hapoel Hertzliya game was canceled since Gali did not have its 1995-96 season budget approved on time. The league committee will decide if the game will either be made up or ruled as a forfeit.

In tonight's televised game of the week, defending champions Maccabi Tel Aviv will travel to Hapoel Gali in an 8:30 pm contest.

Maccabi will be without Ron Anderson who has been sidelined for the season with an ankle injury.

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Forest beats Everton to take 6th spot

LONDON (Reuter) - Nottingham Forest moved into the Premier League's top six after punishing FA Cup champion Everton's poor defending for a 3-2 home victory yesterday.

The win extended Forest's unbeaten league sequence to 19 matches stretching back to its defeat by Arsenal on February 21.

Yet they had to battle hard despite taking control in a first half marked by horrendous Everton errors.

Forest twice led by two goals and should have been certain of the points long before Everton substitute Stuart Barlow was denied an 88th-minute equalizer by Mark Crossley's alert save.

Everton, whose boss Joe Royle labeled his defenders "naive at times" during the 3-2 Cup

Winners' Cup win over Reykjavik on Thursday, could have conceded more than three goals.

Goalkeeper Neville Southall must have wondered what was going on around him on his 500th league appearance for the club.

When Craig Short tripped, trod on the ball and fell over after just two minutes, things looked ominous for Everton and it wasn't long before Forest cashed in on sloppy defending with two goals in four minutes.

Southall produced a one-handed save from a Jason Lee header, but when Everton failed to clear a Des Lytle cross, it hit David Watson on the shin and glanced into the net.

Southall was again let down by his defenders in the 20th minute when he dived full

length to save left-handed from Steve Stone only for Lee to prod in the second.

He saved twice more from Stone while Paul Rideout cheered the Everton fans with an overhead kick which was tipped over by Crossley.

Rideout cut the arrears with a 61st-minute header but Ian Woan restored the two-goal advantage three minutes later when he exploited time and space to smack a 30-yard drive beyond the despairing left hand of Southall.

Tony Grant set up a tight finish with nine minutes left but he planted a precision cross for Rideout to head home.

But Crossley's late tip-over from Barlow denied Everton a point.

Torrance wins Brit Masters

NORTHAMPTON (AP) - Ryder Cup veteran Sam Torrance shot a 3-under-par 69 yesterday to win the British Masters, pushing him atop the European tour money list and making him Europe's hottest player as Ryder Cup play opens this week.

Torrance defeated Michael Campbell by one stroke as the New Zealander finished with a 4-under-par 68 on the par-72 Collieston course.

Campbell and Torrance were even through 17 holes, but Campbell knocked his drive into lateral water and settled for a par 5 on the final hole.

The 42-year-old Torrance, the oldest member of Europe's Ryder team, reached the final green with two strong wood shots - the second one clearing a water hazard - and then holed out in two.

He finished at a cumulative 270, 18-under-par.

Torrance was one of nine European Ryder players using the event as their final tune-up for the Cup. Four of them - including Ian Woosnam - missed the two-day cut.

Woosnam, named as a replacement for the injured Jose Maria Olazabal, went out with David Gilford, Per-Ulrik Johansson and Philip Walton.

Only three European Ryder Cup players skipped the £650,000 event - Nick Faldo, Costantino Rocca and Bernhard Langer.

Colin Montgomerie, who was after his third European win in the last four events, tied for eighth after slipping to a 72 to finish seven shots back.

Mesa sets mark as Tribe stops Bosox

CLEVELAND (AP) - Jose Mesa set a team record with his 44th save Saturday, and the Cleveland Indians handed Roger Clemens his first loss in eight starts, beating the Boston Red Sox 6-5.

Boston's magic number for clinching the AL East held at four.

Jim Thome homered and Eddie Murray matched his season high with four hits for the Indians, winners of seven of the first 10 games on their 11-game homestand. They are 51-17 at Jacobs Field this year.

Mesa worked a scoreless ninth for his 44th save in 46 chances, surpassing Doug Jones' team record of 43 set in 1990.

Clemens (8-5) allowed six runs and nine hits in 5 1/2 innings, his worst outing since Minnesota chased him with eight runs in 1 1/2 innings on July 23. He had gone 5-0 with a 2.37 ERA in seven starts leading up to Saturday.

Yankies 6, Orioles 5 Mike Stanley's two-run double in the fifth keyed a five-run inning as visiting New York won a six-inning rain-shortened game.

New York's Bernie Williams went 3-for-3, including a solo home run, as the Yankees remained within one game of Seattle in the AL wild-card race.

Jack McDowell (15-10) pitched five innings, allowing nine hits and five runs to pick up his fourth straight victory in as many starts. He left the game in the sixth with a strained muscle in his upper back.

Mike Mauer (16-9), who entered the day tied for the major league lead in wins, was the loser.

Mariners 5, White Sox 3 Dan Wilson hit a go-ahead homer in the top of the ninth inning and Seattle stayed in first place in the AL wild-card race.

Wilson's ninth homer of the season

was a solo shot with one out off reliever Matt Karchner (3-2) and broke a 3-3 tie.

Vince Coleman, who followed his four-hit game Friday night with three more hits Saturday, then singled, stole second, reached third when Craig Grebeck dropped a throw on an attempted steal and raced home when the ball got behind third.

Rangers 7, Tigers 3 Visiting Texas collected 17 hits, including three homers by Vili Clark, Juan Gonzalez and Otis Nixon, and left-hander Kenny Rogers gained his 14th victory.

NATIONAL LEAGUE Braves 6, Reds 1 Greg Maddux pitched seven shut-out innings in the rain for his major league record 17th straight road win.

Marquis Grissom, David Justice and Ryan Klesko hit solo home runs as the Braves improved the league's best record to 83-48.

Cincinnati lost for the sixth time in nine games, keeping its number for clinching the NL Central at four. The Reds also lost shortstop Barry Larkin, who was hit on the left hand by a pitch in the sixth inning. The initial diagnosis was a bruise.

Maddux has gone 17-0 with a 1.03 ERA in 19 road starts since July 2, 1994. Cleveland's Cal McLish, Detroit's Denny McLain and the Chicago White Sox's Rich Dotson shared the previous mark of 16 straight road wins.

WILD CARD GLANCE AMERICAN LEAGUE

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Seattle	59	82	.527	-
New York	58	83	.518	1
Kansas City	56	85	.512	2
Texas	57	84	.511	2
Oakland	68	68	.481	6
Milwaukee	62	68	.477	6.5

NATIONAL LEAGUE

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Los Angeles	67	83	.527	-
Houston	67	83	.527	-
Chicago	64	69	.496	4
Philadelphia	65	68	.496	4
San Diego	63	67	.485	5.5
San Francisco	62	68	.477	6.5

Los Angeles

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Los Angeles	67	83	.527	-
Houston	67	83	.527	-
Chicago	64	69	.496	4
Philadelphia	65	68	.496	4
San Diego	63	67	.485	5.5
San Francisco	62	68	.477	6.5

Los Angeles

SATURDAY'S NL RESULTS: New York 10, Philadelphia 8; Atlanta 4, Cincinnati 1; Colorado 4, Florida 7; Pittsburgh 10, San Francisco 2; Boston 7, Montreal 4; St. Louis 5, Los Angeles 4; San Diego 12, Chicago 4.

NATIONAL LEAGUE

East Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
New York	88	48	.594	-
Philadelphia	86	50	.580	1.5
Atlanta	81	55	.496	21.5
Cincinnati	80	70	.461	22.5
St. Louis	57	73	.438	31
San Diego	58	71	.450	30

Central Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Cincinnati	78	62	.558	-
Houston	67	63	.515	11
Chicago	64	66	.496	13.5
St. Louis	57	73	.438	21
Pittsburgh	58	71	.450	22

West Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Colorado	70	69	.503	-
Los Angeles	69	62	.527	2
San Diego	68	63	.520	3
San Francisco	62	68	.477	8.5

SATURDAY'S AL RESULTS: Cleveland 6, Boston 5; Toronto 4, Milwaukee 4 (11); Oakland 6, Minnesota 1; Texas 7, Detroit 3; Seattle 5, Chicago 3; New York 6, Baltimore 5 (6, rain); Kansas City 7, California 6.

AMERICAN LEAGUE

East Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Boston	78	62	.558	-
New York	69	63	.520	10.5
Baltimore	68	71	.496	13.5
Toronto	58	74	.441	22
Detroit	53	79	.405	28.5

Central Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Cleveland	81	40	.685	-
Kansas City	80	41	.682	1
Minnesota	62	68	.477	24
Chicago	59	70	.457	

WHAT'S ON

CRITIC'S CHOICE

CLASSICAL MUSIC

THERE'S always something musically interesting doing in the acoustically beautiful hall at the Tel Aviv Conservatory on Stryker Street. It has three reasonable subscription series and other fine offerings. Three concerts with the Israel Piano Trio are NIS 120; three chamber concerts with oboist Dudu Carmel and pianist Ohad Ben-Ari are NIS 135; and a jazz series, including a concert with Amikam Kimmelman, is NIS 120. There's also a recital by pianist Boris Berman and more. Info: (03) 5466228.

Helen Kaye



Kiran Segal presents an evening of Indian music and dance at the Israel Museum.

ROMANIAN-born Hungarian composer Gyorgy Kurtag is here for a series of concerts, workshops and master classes, courtesy of the Jerusalem Music Center. Next week is devoted to performance master classes for chamber ensembles while this week's work concentrates on Kurtag's own compositions. Wednesday (8:30) there is a special Kurtag concert presented by the Young Jerusalem String Quartet, soprano Sharon Rostorf, pianist Ohad Ben-Ari, the Israeli Woodwind Quintet and several young pianists. Those who cannot make the concert can attend an open dress rehearsal Wednesday morning at 10.

The Israel Symphony Orchestra Rishon LeZion opens its hometown series tonight as Ilan Schul leads the orchestra in Mozart's 35th symphony ("Haffner") and Ariel Sasson joins in to play Vaughan Williams's tuba concerto. 8:30 at Mofet in Rishon LeZion.

Michael Aizenstadt

DANCE

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

KIRAN SEGAL, one of India's finest Odissi dance style performers, presents a special evening of Indian music and dance with guest dancers and musicians from her native land tonight (8:30) at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem. Segal has performed with all the leading dance festivals in India and has won numerous awards for her work.

CINEMATHEQUE

HELEN KAYE

SEMINAL filmmaker Michelangelo Antonioni is having a 27-film retrospective at the Tel Aviv Cinematheque. Tonight it's *The Chronicle of Love* (1950) at 7. Tomorrow it's *The Conqueror* (1952) at 9:30. On Wednesday, *The Lady Without Camellias* (1953) plays at 5 and so on. (Italian with English subtitles).

FILMS

ADINA HOFFMAN

***** SMOKE - Although it's 85 years old and terribly British, E.M. Forster's social and story-telling exhortation to "only connect..." fits *Smoke* to an eerie T. Set in and around a cigar store in Brooklyn, circa 1990, the film - an engrossing collaboration between novelist Paul Auster and director Wayne Wang - is divided into five chapter-like episodes. It teems with characters whose lives sometimes intertwine and sometimes don't, but whose concerns have a funny way of reinforcing the lives of the people all around. With fine performances by William Hurt, Harvey Keitel, Forrest Whitaker and Stockard Channing. (English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Not recommended for children.)

TELEVISION

CHANNEL 1

6:30 News 6:45 Cartoons 7:00 Good Morning Israel

EDUCATIONAL TV

8:00 Anthropology 8:30 Reading comprehension 8:50 Nature 9:10 Young children's programs 10:00 On Second Thoughts 10:30 Science and technology 10:50 English 11:10 World history 11:40 English 12:00 Geography 12:20 Society 12:45 Ecology 13:00 James Galtway hosts the King Singers 13:30 Children's programs

CHANNEL 1

16:30 Rooki Yeroi 18:50 Dramatized short stories 19:00 The Road to Avonlea 19:45 1985 International Concert for Young Solists 17:00 A New Evening 17:35 Service Not Included - drama 18:00 Garfield 18:15 News in English

ARABIC PROGRAMS

18:30 Sports magazine 19:00 News in Arabic

HEBREW PROGRAMS

18:30 Grace Under Fire 20:00 Mabab 21:00 Pop Culture 22:10 Strawberry Tree - a Ruff Rendell mystery in two parts 23:00 Backtrack 23:30 News magazine

CHANNEL 2

13:00 Videoclips (rpt) 14:00 Power Video (rpt) 14:30 Tick Tack 15:00 Pinocchio - cartoon 15:30 Skippy, the Bush Kangaroo 16:00 The Bold and the Beautiful 17:00 Reshet at Five 17:30 Fresh Prince of Bel-Air 18:00 Dreams with Uzi Hitman 18:30 Who's the Boss? 19:00 Baywatch 20:00 News 20:30 It's a Deal 21:05 fuchs - comedy 21:40 Dan Shilon live 23:15 Women on the Verge of Nervous Breakdown (1988) - Madcap comedy about an eccentric actress and her husband's reaction when her longtime love leaves her. (Director: Pedro Almodovar (88 min)) 00:00 News 00:05 Women on the Verge of Nervous Breakdown (continued) 01:25 Stay the Night - series

CHANNEL 2

13:00 Animals of Earthlingwood - cartoon 13:30 Hey Dad - comedy 14:00 Survival - documentary 15:00 Families 18:00 French program 18:30 Camp Wilder - comedy 19:00 McHale's Navy

JORDAN TV

13:00 Animals of Earthlingwood - cartoon 13:30 Hey Dad - comedy 14:00 Survival - documentary 15:00 Families 18:00 French program 18:30 Camp Wilder - comedy 19:00 McHale's Navy

WHERE TO GO

Notices in this feature are charged at NIS2.00 per line, including VAT. Insertion every day of the month costs NIS250.00 per line, including VAT, per month.

JERUSALEM

Conducted Tours: JERUSALEM. Tours of the Mount Scopus campus, in English, daily Sun-Thurs, 11 a.m. from Bronfman Reception Centre, Sherman Administration Bldg. Buses 48, 9, 23, 28, 28. For info, call 862219.

HAIFA. Visit the Hadassah installations, Chagall Windows. Tel. 02-416333, 02-775271.

TEL AVIV. TEL AVIV MUSEUM OF ART. Impressionist and Post-Impressionist Art in the Herzl Museum. Tel. 03-622222.

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comedy 19:30 The Bold and the Beautiful 20:10 Harts of the West - English 21:25 Ruff Rendell Kissing the Gunner's Daughter (part 2) 22:00 The Dream Team (1988) - Four patients of a mental hospital get separated from the staff during an excursion in New York City and find that life is crazier on the outside. Starring Michael Keaton and Christopher Lloyd (113 mins)

MIDDLE EAST TV

13:00 The 700 Club 13:55 My Dear Secretary (1948) - a pair of writers lge interest in the life of a new secretary (94 mins) 15:00 Mighty Mouse 15:55 Jonny Quest 16:20 Danganmou 16:45 Superbook 17:10 Documentary 18:10 Magnum P.I. 18:00 World News Tonight 18:30 CNN Headline News 20:00 The Cosby Show 20:30 Diagnosis Murder 21:20 Time Trax 22:10 700 Club

CABLE

FAMILY CHANNEL (3)

8:00 Roxanne 9:00 One Life to Live 9:45 The Young and the Restless 10:30 Perfect Strangers 10:55 The Wonder Years 11:25 Celeste 12:10 Neighbors 12:35 The 24th Hour 13:30 Starting at 1:30 14:05 St. Elmo's Fire 14:55 Roxanne 15:40 Melrose Place 16:30 Neighbors 16:55 Antennas 17:45 Israel Clips 18:00 One Life to Live 18:45 The Young and the Restless 19:30 Local broadcast 20:00 Celeste 20:30 Married with Children 21:20 The Nanny 21:50 Mad About You 22:20 Seinfeld 22:50 The Larry Sanders Show 23:20 Seinfeld 00:05 ENG 00:55 Law and Order 1:45 Dangerous Curves

MOVIE CHANNEL (4)

10:30 Svergel (1983) - (rpt) 12:10 The Stars Looking Down (1938) - (rpt) 13:45 Short Film 14:20 The Girl For Hire (1983) - (rpt) 17:35 A Show of Force (1980) - (rpt) 18:05 What's New at the Movies 19:15 Love Sites (1982) - (rpt) 21:00 Keeping Secrets (1991) - The autobiographical story of actress Suzanne Sommers. She recalls her alcoholic father and her personal struggles with drinking. Directed by John Correy (89 min) 22:35 Solomon's Choice (1992) - (rpt) 00:10 In the Deep Woods (1992) - (rpt) 01:45 Repossessed (1990) - (rpt)

CHILDREN (6)

6:30 Cartoons 9:00 Fievel 9:40 The Real Story 10:00 Mighty Max 10:35 Back to the Future 11:00 Getting Along Alone 11:30 The Team 12:30 Surprise Garden 13:30 Alvin and the Chipmunks 14:10 Spiderman 14:30 Mighty Max 15:05 Back to the Future 15:30 Family Ties 16:00 Crossroads 17:00 The Bad News Bears 17:30 Surprise Garden 18:30 The Bad News Bears 19:30 Three's Company 20:00 Married with Children 20:30 Perfect Strangers 20:55 Step by Step 21:20 Cheers 21:45 Clap

SECOND SHOWING (6)

22:00 The Tempest (1980) - The Bard's play was the inspiration for this tale of a burned-out New York architect who moves to a Greek island with his teenage daughter. Starring John Cassavetes, Raul Julia, Susan Sarandon and Molly Ringwald. Directed by Paul Mazursky (91 min) 23:35 God's Little Acre (1988) - In a search for gold, a poor farmer from Georgia neglects his land. Starring Robert Evans, Eric Louie and Buddy Hackett. (112 min)

DISCOVERY (8)

6:00 Open University: Management.

Marketing and Economics 12:00 Survival 12:30 Nature on Track 13:00 Beyond 2000 14:00 Open University (repeating morning's programs) 16:00 Survival 16:30 Nature on Track 17:00 Beyond 2000 18:00 Open University (repeating morning's programs) 20:00 Earth 21:00 Rediscovering America 22:00 To Kill and Kill Again 22:50 Earth 23:50 Open University (rpt of morning's programs)

ITV 3 (33)

17:00 Cartoons 17:30 Sage of the Ages 18:30 Panorama - hosted by Zaidan Asha 19:00 News in Arabic 19:30 Songs 20:00 From Pole to Pole - documentary 21:00 Mabab 22:00 Film

ETV 2 (23)

15:30 Full House 16:00 Nature - documentary 18:00 Keep Fit 18:15 Neon Rider 19:00 Tesh-Bahleh - young satire and entertainment magazine 19:30 Family Relations 20:00 A New Evening (with Russian subtitles) 20:30 Lubbock's Ten Sons 21:00 The World at War

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SUPER CHANNEL

6:00 ITN World News 6:15 NBC News 6:30 Steals and Deals 7:00 Today featuring ITN World News and FT Business 9:00 Super Shop 10:00 European Money Wheel 14:00 US Money Wheel 17:30 FT Business Tonight 18:00 ITN News 18:30 Frost's Century 19:30 The Seina Scott Show 20:30 Frontal 21:30 ITN News 22:00 Best of the Tonight Show 23:00 Ryder Cup Preview 00:00 FT Business Tonight 00:30 NBC News 1:00 Real Personal

STAR PLUS

6:00 The Sullivans 6:30 Natalia Dupree 7:00 Video Fashion Monthly 7:30 Donahue 8:30 Santa Barbara 9:30 The Bold and the Beautiful 10:00 Oprah Winfrey 11:00 Rivers 11:30 Nathalie Dupree 12:00 Aerobics 12:30 The Sullivans 13:00 Small Wonder 13:30 Star Trek 14:30 Batman 15:00 Home and Away 15:30 Entertainment Tonight 16:00 M*A*S*H 16:30 Mystery Movies: Inspector Morse 17:30 The Bold and the Beautiful 19:00 Santa Barbara 20:00 Hard Copy 20:30 Tales of the Gold Monkey 21:30 Barnaby Jones 22:30 Entertainment Tonight 23:00 Oprah Winfrey 00:00 Hard Copy 00:30 Home and Away 1:00 The Sullivans

CHANNEL 5

7:00 - 8:30 Bodies in motion 16:00 Bodies in motion 16:30 WWF Summer Slam 19:00 NFL 20:30 Live Israeli basketball: Maccabi TA vs Hapoel Gvat 22:15 Premier league soccer roundup 23:15 Brazilian league soccer

EUROSPORT

8:30 Golf: Dunhill Masters 9:30 Water skiing 10:30 Volleyball 12:00 Brazilian Grand Prix 14:00 University games from Japan 16:00 Decathlon 19:30

CINEMA

7:15 * Pocahontas (Hebrew dialogue) * Pagamaster (Hebrew dialogue) 5 * Smoke 4:45, 7:15

ARAD STAR 9:50:00 Casper 7:15 * Braveheart 9:30 * While You Were Sleeping 9:20 * Village of the Damned 7:15, 9:30 * Tommy Boy 7:15

ASHDOD G.G. Gil Muriel's Wedding 7:30, 10 * Braveheart 6:15, 9:30 * Water World 4:30, 7:15, 10 * Die Hard 3 5, 7:30, 10 * Pagamaster 5 * G.G. Gil 1:32 7:11:22 7:30 * Forget Paris * Bad Boys * French Kiss 5, 7:30, 10

ASHKELON G.G. Gil Village of the Damned * Shallow Grave 5, 7:30, 10 * Muriel's Wedding * The Madness of King George 5, 7:30, 10 * Water World 4:30, 7:15, 10 * RAV CHEN 9:11:22 7:30 * Forget Paris * Bad Boys * French Kiss 5, 7:30, 10 * Pocahontas (Hebrew dialogue) 5, 7:30, 10 * Dolores Claiborne 4:45, 7:15, 9:45

BAV YAM RAV CHEN 9:53:07:7 Bad Boys * Don Juan * Forget Paris 5, 7:30, 9:45 * Die Hard 3 5, 7:15, 9:45 * The Bridges of Madison County 4:30, 7:15, 9:45 * Water World 4:45, 7:15, 9:45 * Dolores Claiborne 4:45, 7:15, 9:45

BEERSHEVA G.G. Gil Casper * Batman Forever 5 * Village of the Damned * Water World 4:30, 7:15, 10 * Carrington 5, 7:30, 10 * RAV-NEGEV 1-4 9:23:27:8 Don Juan * Forget Paris 5, 7:30, 9:45 * Judge Dredd 5 * Dolores Claiborne 4:45, 7:15, 9:45 * Forget Paris 7:30, 9:45

DIMONA MOFET Batman Forever 8

HADERA LEV 1-4 French Kiss 7:15, 9:30 * Pocahontas (Hebrew dialogue) 5 * Andre 5 * Shawshank Redemption 7:15 * Die Hard 3 5, 10 * Water World 4:45, 7:15, 9:45 * Muriel's Wedding 7:15, 9:45

HERZLIYA COLONY CINEMA 1-2 (MANDARIN) 9:20:26:8 Forget Paris * Muriel's Wedding 8, 10 * STAR 6:50:00 29 Sokolov St. Carrington 7:15 * French Kiss 9:45 * The Bridges of Madison County 7:15, 9:45 * Water World 7:15, 9:45

KARMIEL CINEMA 1-3 9:27:27:7 Braveheart 5:30, 9 * Forget Paris * Dolores Claiborne 7, 9:30

KFAR SAVA G.G. Gil Water World * The Bridges of Madison County 4:30, 7:15, 10 * Water World 10 * Pocahontas (Hebrew dialogue) 7:30 * Pocahontas (Hebrew dialogue) 5 * French Kiss 5, 7:30, 10 * Forget Paris 7:30, 10 * Batman Forever 5 * Don Juan 5, 7:30, 10 * Carrington 5, 7:30, 10

KRYVAT BIALIK KRYVAT 1-9 9:27:16:6 Water World * Die Hard 3 * The Bridges of Madison County 4:45, 7:30 * Casper * Batman Forever * Power Rangers 4:45 * While You Were Sleeping 7, 9:30 * Braveheart 9 * Judge Dredd 7, 9:30 * French Kiss 4:45, 7:30, 9:45 * Water World 4:45, 7:30, 9:45 * Village of the Damned 7, 9:30

KRYVAT MALACHI MOFET 5:50:28 French Kiss 7:15, 9:30

KRYVAT ONO MATNAS Braveheart 15 * Casper 7

KRYVAT SHEMONA G.G. Gil Water World 4:30, 7, 9:45 * Village of the Damned * The Madness of King George 4:30, 7, 9:30

LOD 7:15 * Pocahontas (Hebrew dialogue) * Pagamaster 5 * Braveheart 5:30, 9 * Bad Boys * Snake 7, 9:15 * Forget Paris 7, 9:15 * Don Juan 5, 7:30, 9:30 * Die Hard 3 4:30, 7, 9:30 RAV-OR 1-3 9:26:53:3 While You Were Sleeping * Forget Paris

Eurosport News 20:00 Speed World 22:00 Soccer magazine 23:00 Boxing 00:00 Eurogolf magazine 1:00 Euro-sport news

PRIME SPORTS

6:00 NFL: New England Patriots vs San Francisco 49ers 9:00 Sports magazine 10:00 Tennis 12:00 Aerobics 14:00 EPGA Golf 18:00 Auto racing 17:00 NFL Football 22:00 Auto racing

Ben-Gurion workers plan severe flight disruptions today

MICHAEL YUDELMAN

SEVERE flight disruptions are expected at Ben-Gurion Airport after 5 p.m. today, unless the management of Flight Services, whose workers fuel the airplanes, enters into negotiations with its striking workers.

Disruptions at the airport, which occurred for about an hour yesterday afternoon, were stopped, and all the workers, except those of Flight Services, resumed regular work, after the Airports Authority agreed to a union and Histadrut request to withdraw the court orders forbidding the strike.

However, if the management of Flight Services fails to enter into negotiations with the workers' representatives by 8 this morning, worse disruptions, including a one-hour strike sometime between 5 p.m. and 9 p.m., are planned. The chosen hour will not be announced in advance.

Histadrut sources said if negotiations don't take place, workers will hold protest meetings during the four hours and completely shut down all services to airplanes during the most crowded hour at the airport. During this hour, baggage will not be unloaded, airplanes will not be cleaned or maintained, flight meals will not be provided, and customs officials will not work.

The sources stressed that the one-hour strike will wreak such havoc that the repercussions will be felt for six or more hours.

In addition, the ongoing strike is expected to cause flight schedule disruptions for aircraft that do



A couple sits on their luggage waiting to check in for their flight during a work slowdown yesterday at Ben-Gurion Airport. Further disruptions can be expected this afternoon if the management of Flight Services, whose workers fuel planes at the airport, does not begin talks with its employees on a wage agreement. (Israel Sun)

not refuel in other places. Three Russian airplanes that arrived with little fuel were reported stuck in the airport yesterday, but most airlines were forewarned and their planes stopped to fill up at other airports on their way here.

Flight Services workers are protesting management's refusal to renew their six-year-old wage agreement.

Some 60,000 Israelis are due to leave the country via Ben-Gurion Airport before the eve of Rosh Hashana.

Yesterday's planned sanctions in solidarity with the striking workers were stayed off when the Airports Authority obtained court orders forbidding the workers to strike or disrupt flights. As a result, the Flight Services workers' strike was hardly felt.

But then the workers decided to work "by the book," between 2 p.m. and 3 p.m., causing long waiting lines at the customs' clearance gate and in the baggage claim hall. During this hour, El Al closed down all its check-in counters, forcing hundreds of people to wait for their flights in increasingly longer lines.

Three departures were delayed, while a number of other flights arrived late because they had to stop to refuel before their arrival.

The passengers waiting in the crowded lines seemed to accept the strike stoically, mainly because they knew that, today at least, the delay would be only a short one.

"We are always detained for one reason or another on flights, whether it's the weather or a technical fault," said a businessman from the central region. "So a half-hour delay in departure due to a strike is really quite reasonable."

Another passenger admitted that the delay was "extremely annoying. But what can you do?"

One elderly woman said she always had to wait in line for what appeared "a very long time, so what's the difference already?"

"But it's 10 times more annoying when you're waiting in front of empty check-in counters," the young man behind her said.

2 soldiers wounded near Marjayoun

ALON PINKAS

TWO IDF soldiers were moderately wounded yesterday afternoon when a roadside bomb was activated as a patrol was passing near the city of Marjayoun in the security zone in south Lebanon.

A convoy in which Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak and OC Northern Command Maj.-Gen. Amiram Levine drove through Marjayoun on the same road on which the bomb was detonated, but army sources said it was entirely ran-

dom and that Shahak was not the target. Lt.-Gen. Shahak was on a tour of army units on the occasion of the New Year.

The two soldiers were listed in light-to-moderate condition at Rambam Hospital in Haifa.

Hizbullah claimed responsibility for the attack.

In a related development in south Lebanon yesterday, gunmen trying to infiltrate the security zone were deflected by IDF and South Lebanon Army fire.

Ivry to visit Turkey

ALON PINKAS

DEFENSE Ministry Director-General David Ivry will visit Turkey this week to meet with senior defense officials and possibly conclude the Israel Aircraft Industry deal to upgrade Turkey's F-4 Phantoms.

Ivry will be accompanied by deputy director-general for foreign relations and arms control Kuti Mor, and David Shoval, head of the ministry's foreign assistance and exports department.

Ivry, who has been to Turkey previously, is to meet the Turkish

defense minister, deputy defense minister in charge of defense and military industries, chief of staff, and senior military commanders.

Israel and Turkey last month initiated a \$600 million deal for IAI to upgrade Turkey's aging fleet of Phantoms. The deal is still pending final signature. The exact price also has yet to be determined.

The deal, and Ivry's visit are perceived by officials as signs of further strengthening of the defense ties between the countries.

'Honey' traffickers get stung

AGENTS of the Honey Marketing Board and VAT investigators yesterday raided two factories producing and distributing artificial honey being sold as real, confiscating around a ton of the boiled sugar product.

One raid was on a chocolate factory in Petah Tikva, the other on a food wholesaler in Jaffa.

"One would assume that as a result of the operation, we will see significantly less imitation honey, which we find a lot of before Rosh Hashana," said Ezra Orani, director-general of the board.

Jerusalem Post Staff

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WEATHER

Jerusalem 18-28
Tel Aviv 22-28
Haifa 21-25
Tiberias 21-33
Ashdod 19-30
Beer Sheva 18-30
Dead Sea 27-34
Eilat 24-35

Forecast: Slight drop in temperatures.

AROUND THE WORLD

	C	F	C	F
Berlin	11	52	23	73
London	12	54	28	82
Paris	13	55	29	84
Rome	14	57	30	86
Madrid	15	59	31	88
Amsterdam	16	61	32	90
Brussels	17	63	33	91
Frankfurt	18	64	34	93
Cologne	19	66	35	95
Hong Kong	24	75	36	97
Tokyo	25	77	37	99
Osaka	26	79	38	100
Seoul	27	81	39	102
Beijing	28	82	40	104
Shanghai	29	84	41	106
Manila	30	86	42	108
Singapore	31	88	43	110
Bangkok	32	90	44	111
Calcutta	33	91	45	113
Mumbai	34	93	46	115
Delhi	35	95	47	117
New York	18	64	34	93

Winning cards
In yesterday's Mifal Hapais daily Chance card draw, the lucky cards were the eight of spades, jack of hearts, ace of diamonds, and jack of clubs.

Golan fire damages forest

HUNDREDS of dunams of forest and grassland were burned yesterday in a fire near Kibbutz Merom Golan. It took several hours for Kibbutz fire-fighters and workers from the Jewish National Fund and Nature Reserves Authority to put out the blaze. Police are investigating the cause of the blaze. (Itim)

State hospital staff to strike today

JUDY SIEGEL

SOME 8,000 clerks and maintenance workers at 30 state general, geriatric and psychiatric hospitals around the country will launch a strike this morning.

The Health Ministry, however, said it would seek a restraining order against the strike today.

Union chief Batya Levy yesterday blamed the strike - a resumption of sanctions applied two months ago - on the "refusal" of the Health and Finance ministries to implement recommendations

of the Padeh Committee for equalizing salary scales in Kupat Holim Clalit and government hospitals. The previous strike was halted when the employers agreed to negotiate, but the talks were fruitless.

The strike will force the government hospitals to work on an emergency schedule, with special consideration for patients in the oncology, dialysis, obstetrics, intensive care, and neonatal departments.

Vanunu withdraws appeal

MORDECHAI Vanunu will remain in solitary confinement in Ashkelon Prison, after he voluntarily withdrew his appeal yesterday to be placed in the general prison population. The appeal was to be heard by Beersheba District Court yesterday.

Vanunu was accompanied to court by hundreds of policemen, border policemen and General Security Service agents, who constantly surrounded him to prevent contact with the press. He did manage to shout out "Italy," implying that is the country from which he was kidnapped and brought here for trial. (Itim)

Nimrodi trial slated for December 31

THE opening of the trial of Ma'ariv publisher Ofer Nimrodi on charges he commissioned wiretapping has been postponed until December 31.

Nimrodi's lawyer, Dan Avi-Yitzhak, had asked Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court to grant him a six-month delay in replying to the indictment to give him time to study the vast amount of material and to copy the audio and videotapes supplied to him by the prosecution.

The court also instructed the prosecution to provide the defense with a list of all the documents in the various investigatory files which it did not plan to turn over to the defense, so that Avi-Yitzhak could decide which he wanted to see.

Avi-Yitzhak said that to date he has managed to photocopy 27 of the some 70 investigatory files. He said he also will have to



'Ma'ariv' publisher Ofer Nimrodi (left) chats with his co-defendant, the paper's security chief, David Ronen, in court yesterday.

copy hundreds of tapes, and that there are certain to be disputes with the prosecution over whether

he should be allowed to see certain material. The judge also ruled that any

dispute over transferring material should be brought before the court for a decision. (Itim)

DEAL

(Continued from Page 1)

have "blood on their hands," but it remains unclear how this team is defined.

Arafat wants Israel to release all the estimated 5,200 Palestinian prisoners, but Israel does not want to release those who murdered or injured Israelis.

Two other issues apparently remain unresolved.

Energy Minister Gonen Segov said the Palestinians have "gone backward" by rejecting a joint Israeli-Palestinian company that would govern the use of electricity grids in the territories. He said Israel cannot completely turn the grids over to the PA because they

also supply military installations and settlements.

It also remained unknown whether there was an agreement over joint Palestinian-Israeli patrols on at least some intercity roads in the territories.

Herb Keiron adds:

Kiryat Arba and Hebron settlers were scheduled to meet late last night to discuss information they claim to have that Israel is planning to evacuate the Jewish neighborhood in Tel Rumeida in exchange for keeping the IDF in the center of Hebron.

A Kiryat Arba official said the meeting was called to plan opposition activity if and when such an order comes.



SUNBIRDS and MOONFLOWERS - and other Nature Notes. This is a very nicely produced collection of articles by Dvora Ben Shaul, which appeared over the years in The Jerusalem Post. A long-awaited gift for many regular readers of Dvora Ben Shaul's column, with drawings by Andrew Mann accompanying each article. Published by Hovav Hakelev, softcover, 145 pp. JP Price NIS 35 incl. VAT, p&p in Israel

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